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THE GREAT DOMINION

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THE

GREAT DOMINION

STUDIES OF CANADA

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BY

GEORGE R. PARKIN, M.A.

HON. LL.D. UNIV. NEW BRUNSWICK

WITH MAPS

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PREFACE

THE greater part of the matter contained in the following pages appeared during the past year in a series of letters to the *Times*. Those letters were the result of a somewhat careful study, made in behalf of that journal during the autumn and winter of 1892-3 of many parts of the Dominion which I had not visited before, as well as of other portions with which I had long been familiar. A later visit, made during the summer of 1894, has enabled me to make many additions on questions of interest, and in a few minor points to correct earlier impressions. It also gave me the opportunity of submitting my statements on various questions to the judgment of friends whose criticism derived special value from their full knowledge of particular localities.

The form in which the studies originally appeared necessarily involved the choice of a limited number of subjects and condensed treatment. It will therefore be understood that no attempt is here made to treat exhaustively the manifold conditions of a country which, like Canada, covers half a continent. The object kept steadily in view has been rather that the letters should, so far as they go, leave upon the mind of the reader a true impression. An endeavour has also been made to select those subjects upon which it seems most necessary that accurate information should be easily accessible,

and a measured judgment formed, both within the Dominion and without.

The order of treatment has been determined by considerations other than those of geographical continuity.

Directly or indirectly the studies will, I think, be found to touch upon the most significant conditions of Canadian life, the most important of the problems which confront Canadians, and those external relations which have the greatest general interest.

It has been a satisfaction to find that throughout Canada they have, in their original form, been very generally accepted as fair statements of the questions with which they deal. As I have never hesitated to point out the drawbacks and limitations of the country as well as its advantages, this approval seems to indicate that Canadians have reached a point where they are quite willing that the merits and defects of their country should be freely weighed together. The fact marks an important stage in the growth of a self-reliant feeling in a young community.

There are good grounds for believing that the diffusion among British people of trustworthy information about the various parts of the empire, and concerning the place which each of the greater divisions, at least, is fitted to hold in the national system, will do much to keep the lines of further national development in true directions. I can only hope that what is here written of the greatest of the colonies may in some slight degree serve this purpose.

My best thanks are due to the proprietors of the *Times* for their readily granted permission to reproduce in another form material which first appeared in their columns.

G. R. P.

LONDON, *January*, 1895.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY 1

CHAPTER I

THE NORTH-WEST 9

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH-WEST—*continued* 26

CHAPTER III

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY 46

CHAPTER IV

COAL 73

CHAPTER V

EASTERN CANADA: ONTARIO AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES 89

CHAPTER VI

EASTERN CANADA—*continued*: QUEBEC 127

CHAPTER VII

BRITISH COLUMBIA 157

CHAPTER VIII

PAGE
NORTHERN CANADA: THE GREAT FUR COUNTRY 173

CHAPTER IX

TRADE RELATIONS AND TRADE POLICY 184

CHAPTER X

LABOUR, EDUCATION AND POLITICAL TENDENCIES 209

INDEX 245

MAPS

A MAP OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA, SHOWING THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY . . . . . *To face page* 1

ONTARIO AND QUEBEC RAILWAY SYSTEM . . . . . *To face page* 89

THE MARITIME PROVINCES RAILWAY SYSTEM . . *To face page* 156

THE GREAT DOMINION

INTRODUCTORY

MANY of the problems connected with the present condition and future development of the Dominion of Canada have a profound interest for the people of the United Kingdom and of the empire at large. In these problems are involved matters deeply affecting maritime position, imperial defence and communications, food and coal supply, trade relations, emigration, and many other questions which, from a national point of view, are of the first importance.

The study of these questions seems more necessary now than ever before. While the growth of population in the Dominion has not been so great during the last two decades as was expected, events have nevertheless moved fast. Advances in political and physical consolidation have been made which greatly change Canada's relation to the empire and to the world. This movement is one which, in the very nature of things, must have far reaching national consequences.

It does not seem an exaggeration to say that the

course which affairs take in Canada during the next few years may have a decisive influence upon the direction of British History. The primary reason for this impression is obvious. Canada is the first of the great colonies which has formed a political combination which gives her a position closely akin to that of a nation. Her territory comprises nearly 40 per cent. of the whole empire, and covers half of the North American continent. It is only within the last few years that Canadians themselves have become fully conscious of the vast possibilities of this largely undeveloped area. Facing upon the two greatest oceans of the globe, the country is now brought into easy commercial communication and international relation with the rest of the world. Across the breadth of the continent it borders upon, and therefore has more or less intimate relations with, the United States. Thus, though Canada has not a nation's franchise, her people and statesmen have been forced to consider in many ways the interests of a nation. By the mere compulsion of circumstances her statesmen are fast becoming statesmen of the empire. Already more than once their advice has been essential to the wise conduct of the most difficult imperial negotiations. It is facts like these which give such extreme national significance to her present position. In what direction will point the interests and aspirations of a great colony which has reached this stage of growth? How far do these interests and aspirations coincide with those of British people generally? These are large questions which cannot be answered off-hand.

That they must be answered sooner or later invites or almost compels the careful study of Canadian conditions.

For gaining a due sense of proportion in such study some glance at the main geographical facts is a necessary preliminary.

If we follow its changes of direction the southern boundary of Canada stretches over fully 4,000 miles. Along this line we find that Southern Ontario has the latitude of Central Italy; Nova Scotia that of Northern Italy; Vancouver and Manitoba that of Central Germany. These latitudes, modified greatly in their influence by maritime or continental conditions, give, as I shall have occasion to show, very wide variations of climate.

Northward from this frontier base (a parallel of latitude in the West; in the East extremely irregular), the territory well adapted by climate for comfortable settlement varies much in breadth. Sometimes it is narrow, as to the north of Lake Superior; in other parts it extends north and south from three hundred to five hundred miles. In the further growth of the country the bulk of population will remain within these limits.

Further northward are immense areas, still habitable, but with the range of agriculture limited to hardier products. These areas again gradually fall away into regions only fitted for forest growth, and finally into Arctic spaces where game, furs and fish, all of which abound, and mineral wealth, are the only present or

prospective incentives to exploration or industrial occupation. Russia, extending from Asia Minor to the Arctic, is the only other country which furnishes a parallel range of conditions in passing from south to north.

When we consider the country from east to west some remarkable features are to be observed. Old or Eastern Canada extends from the Atlantic to Lakes Huron and Superior. The fact which here most of all arrests attention is that even to the heart of the continent Eastern Canada has a position essentially maritime. The Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy, with innumerable smaller inlets, penetrate the coast, and give the Atlantic frontage a remarkable length of coast line. From the Gulf of St. Lawrence the river of the same name, at first a broad estuary of the sea, and later one of the largest of streams carries ocean steamships to Montreal, and leads up, by ways made navigable, to the great inland fresh-water seas which almost encircle Ontario, and afterwards stretch westward to the confines of the prairies. Here, half way across the continent, the salt waters of the vast Hudson's Bay have penetrated till they are parted from the fresh waters of Lake Superior by only four or five hundred miles of intervening land, thus completing the maritime environment of the country.

New Canada lies westward of Lake Superior. "Taking a line drawn north and south in the longitude of the Red River Valley, which is, as nearly as may be, the centre of Canada from east to west, it may

confidently be stated that by far the larger part of the country in which agricultural settlement is possible lies to the west, while the great bulk of the actual population lies to the east of this line."[1] It is thus that one of the most competent authorities on the subject states the relation to the rest of Canada of the great North West. He goes on to say: "This disposition of the cultivable land depends partly upon the physical characteristics of the country, and in part on its climatic conditions. Beyond Winnipeg, and stretching therefrom to the west and north-west, is the great area of prairie, plain, and plateau, which, wider near the forty-ninth parallel than elsewhere on the continent, runs on in one form or other, though with diminishing width, to the Arctic Ocean. This is, generally speaking, an alluvial region, and one of fertile soils. Very, fortunately, and as though by a beneficent provision of nature, the climatic features favour the utilisation of this belt. The summer isothermals, which carry with them the possibility of ripening crops, trend far to the north."

One further characteristic of this division of Canada is to be noted. Even when the centre of the continent has been reached, and navigation by large vessels is ended, for steamers of light draught, and, when these fail, for the canoes and *batteaux* of the *voyageur* and freighter, there are still thousands of miles of river and lake navigation, along the course of the Saskatchewan Athabaska, Peace, Mackenzie, Nelson and other rivers

[1] Dr. G. M. Dawson, of the Canadian Geological Survey.

to the shore of the Arctic Ocean and the Hudson's Bay. The rich furs gathered even at the mouth of the Mackenzie and around the Arctic Circle have for generations been carried by water, save for a few miles of land portage, from the place of collection to Fort York or Montreal, and thence to London. Over much of the remoter sections of this route steam is now employed.

To the advantages derived from this unparalleled system of inland communication there is one limitation. For four or five winter months ice closes to navigation alike the lakes, the canals, the St. Lawrence, and the more remote streams. Fortunately the Maritime Provinces give to the Dominion ports which are open the whole year round.

The temporary cessation of free intercourse in winter acts as a check to commercial development in some directions, but it is far from being all loss. In the forest-covered parts of the country especially, it is balanced by great industrial conveniences.

After the prairies, British Columbia with its mountains and the Pacific coast. The mountains, range behind range, stretch over a breadth of 500 or 600 miles. They presented a serious geographical barrier to the political unification of Canada. The obstacle has been triumphantly overcome, and in reality proved a useful test for the strength of the forces which made for unity. This vast mountain district lends itself but slightly to agricultural settlement, but it, too, as I shall have to show, will hold an important place in the economic

development of the Dominion. The Pacific frontage has not the profound indentations of the Atlantic side of the Dominion. Numberless lesser ones, however, together with the many islands, great and small, scattered along its whole length, give it, too, a quite remarkable extent of coast line, which has been estimated at 7,000 miles. The harbours are numerous and excellent, and the warm currents of the Pacific keep them free from ice all the year round. They furnish Canada with an open gateway to the commerce of the Pacific.

Such, in broadest outline, are the geographical features which must dominate the development of Canada; which will mainly influence the industries, the character, and the tendencies of its people. They open up a large field for study and speculation.

It need scarcely be added that in regions so vast and various Nature is often seen in her most splendid and picturesque aspects. The traveller who has penetrated the Selkirk and Rocky ranges of British Columbia; who has explored the magnificent surroundings of the National Park at Banff; who has crossed the thousand miles of North-Western prairie; who has traversed the expanse of the great inland lakes; who has stood beside the Horseshoe Fall at Niagara and traced the course of the mighty gorge below; who has sailed amid the Thousand Isles and through the swirling rapids of the St. Lawrence; who has looked down from the heights of the Mountain at Montreal; from the promontory on which stand the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa; and from the lofty terrace of historic

Quebec, has seen some of the most striking and impressive scenery of the world. Doubtless such surroundings may have a profound influence in moulding the character of a people. Canada is a country which certainly stirs the imagination of her children—which begets in them an intense love of the soil. If the front which nature sometimes presents to them is severe, it is also noble and impressive. In the breadth of its spaces, the headlong rush of its floods, the majesty of its mountain heights and cañon depths, and the striking contrasts of its seasons in their march through the fervid warmth of summer, the glory of autumnal colouring, and the dazzling splendour of a snow-covered land to the sudden burst of new and radiant life in spring—in all these, Canada has characteristics unique among the many lands under the British flag. There are those who believe that it is a country peculiarly fitted to rear a people whose northern vigour will give them weight in the world, and will add strength and character to the nation of which they form a part. But it is with the practical facts of Canadian life, rather than its ideals, that we have now chiefly to deal.

CHAPTER I

THE NORTH-WEST

AMONG the Canadian problems which may fairly be regarded as of national interest, I am disposed to place foremost those connected with the growth and settlement of the vast provinces of the North-West. These provinces are sure, sooner or later, to be filled with a population of many millions of people, English-speaking, and for the most part of British blood. To emigrants from the United Kingdom they now offer the most readily accessible areas in the Empire where homestead lands can still be easily acquired. They equally offer abundant lands to those foreign emigrants who are willing to add to the strength of the Empire by adopting British citizenship. The extent to which this process of assimilating energetic and useful material from other races is being carried on in Canada, as in the other colonies, may be strikingly shown by a single illustration. Within the last few years Manitoba and the North-West have absorbed nearly 10,000 of the industrious and intelligent inhabitants of Iceland, who have voluntarily become most useful, loyal, and

satisfactory British subjects. This migration is still going on, and it seems not unlikely that a considerable proportion of the population of that interesting island will ultimately be transferred to British soil.

Increasing population in these vacant areas means increased powers of production in directions which intimately concern British consumers. It is only eight or nine years since railway communication was fully established with the North-West, but already wheat from Manitoba farms and cattle from Alberta ranches are finding their way to the English market in increasing volume. Any one who studies existing conditions, who sees how comparatively small is the area as yet occupied, who observes the facility with which production may be increased, will, I think, be convinced that the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence, and Canadian railway systems will soon be the channels for an immense outflow of food products directed towards Britain. The inevitable pressure of consumption upon production in the United States, hitherto the chief source of British importation, gives peculiar interest to this question of Canadian food supply; the filling up, moreover, of these vast territories with an adequate population is almost essential to the complete consolidation of that remarkable, but as yet not fully appreciated, maritime position which is secured to the Empire by the fact that the Dominion rests with commanding outlook upon both the Atlantic and the Pacific, where these oceans respectively furnish the shortest and easiest access from the American continent

to Europe and Asia. Just as the middle and western States bind New England and the east to the Pacific States, so the filling up of the North-West will complete the cohesion between the Atlantic and the Pacific provinces of Canada.

Wishing to form an estimate of the progress and prospects of the North-West, of its food-producing capacity, and of the conditions of settlement, I elected to visit the country at a season not usually considered favourable. Friends in England and Canada alike reproached me for not planning to reach the prairies in time to see the wonderful prospect afforded by the wide stretches of waving grain. But we know that in all countries not only the promise of spring verdure and of summer growth, but also of early autumn ripening, may be blighted by rain or drought or frost, and so I preferred to visit the North-West in the late autumn and early winter, when the farmer had got down to the bed rock of reality; when his stacks had been threshed and the grain measured or sold; when he was preparing to face the winter and was carrying on the operations necessary to make the work of the spring most effective. If such a time for studying a country lacks some elements of the picturesque, it has interest equal to any other, and perhaps more of instruction.

A new and strange sense of vastness grows upon the mind as one travels day after day over the prairies, with the distant sky-line as the chief object which fixes the eye. The impression is different from that produced

by wide space at sea, for the imagination at once begins to fill up these enormous areas with homes and busy inhabitants. At first sight it seems only necessary to pour out population over these vast spaces in any direction. This is soon found to be a mistake. There are lands good, bad, and middling. Some districts are more subject to frost than others. There are areas where the soil is excellent, but where at some seasons water in sufficient abundance is wanting. There is alkali land in the far West, where the great American desert pushes northward a considerable offshoot. One limited district there is where, from some peculiar configuration of the country, hail is an almost annual infliction, and where, as in Dakota, the hail insurance companies build up a business. All this is in the midst of an extent of good farming land well nigh incalculable. In such circumstances the first, second, and third duty of those who would settle the country is manifestly to reduce the business of land selection as closely as may be to an exact science. To allow any settler in the North-West to go upon land which is not the best available is a gross mistake. The railway companies and the Government are beginning to realize this too long neglected truth. Lands are now carefully surveyed and their characteristics noted. Skilled pioneers are invited to precede parties of emigrants and make careful choice. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company challenges investigations of its lands and gives free passes to those who wish to examine them with a view to settlement. It sends out

experienced agents to assist the individual settler in making a choice. All this is having a good effect, and is correcting the mistakes of earlier days. The trouble taken will be well repaid, for of all emigration agents the contented settler is by far the best. It is from him that the North-West is now getting its best impulse. The steamship in which I crossed the Atlantic was carrying many emigrants, chiefly Scottish, to Manitoba and the Territories. It was satisfactory to find that in most cases they were going on the recommendation of friends who had preceded them. Often in the Far West I met with men and women who were saving their money to bring out relatives, or even, in some cases, going home to induce them to come out. Emigration effected in this way is of the healthiest kind, and is the best recommendation that a country can have.

While the rush of emigration has not been so great as the sanguine hopes of the early settlers led them to anticipate, the progress made seems to the ordinary observer very great. It is, as I have already said, only eight or nine years since the main railway line across the continent was completed. A glance at a good railway map shows how rapidly branch lines have been pushed for many hundred miles in various directions, as settlement justified their construction. What the traveller sees in a journey over some of these branch lines furnishes the best proof of the progress of the country. From Winnipeg I went over the Southern Manitoba road to Estevan, the point to which it was

at that time completed, and thence back to rejoin the main line at Brandon, in all a distance of nearly 500 miles. At intervals of ten or twelve miles over nearly all this distance prosperous little towns are springing up, each equipped with two, three, or four elevators to deal with the grain raised in the surrounding districts. Wheat was being shipped rapidly at the time, and these elevators were usually surrounded by teams waiting to deliver their loads. Huge stacks of straw, soon to be burned for want of any better use, showed where the grain had been threshed in the fields where it was grown. In the latter part of October the deliveries of wheat at Fort William alone amounted to a thousand carloads per week, and the railroads were finding it difficult to deal with all that was offered. For 1891 the whole North-Western production was estimated at between twenty-two and twenty-three million bushels. A good deal was then injured or lost through the difficulty of dealing with an exceptionally heavy crop in the absence of a sufficient supply of labour. For 1892 the output was between fifteen and sixteen million bushels, but the average quality was much higher than in 1891, and the crop was generally saved in good condition. For 1893 and 1894 the aggregate production showed a large increase over 1892. As the yield per acre has not in either year been more than an average one, the advance is due to increasing population and a wider acreage. It is from considering these figures and then remembering how short is the time since no wheat for exportation was produced that we get an idea of the rapid

change which is passing over the country. The peculiar conditions of cultivation on the prairies make it possible to effect changes in five years which in most countries would require the work of a whole generation. On the Canada Alliance farm, once a part of the large colonization estate of 42,000 acres in the Qu'Appelle Valley, in which Lord Brassey is chiefly interested, I saw an illustration of the speedy way in which the virgin prairie can be made ready for a crop. In May, 1890, not a sod had been broken on the farm. In 1892 1,500 acres at least were under crop, with 500 acres additional of summer fallowing. Between June, when the farm seeding closed, and September, when harvest began, a new block of 700 acres was made perfectly ready for the next spring sowing in April. The operations consisted of a first ploughing, in which a very thin sod is turned from the virgin prairie, and then, when this is completed, the backset, or second deeper ploughing. Careful harrowing follows, after which the soil is as completely prepared for the seed drills as in the best English farming. At an adjoining farm, lately set off from the same estate, 800 acres were ready for seeding where not a sod had been turned the previous spring. It probably costs between five and six dollars (£1 to £1 5s.) per acre to prepare land as thoroughly as that which I examined at Qu'Appelle. I heard of cases where, under a rougher system of farming, land was made ready at much less cost. A man with two yoke of oxen and a gang plough breaks up a quarter section (160 acres) during five spring and summer months, and the whole

expense per acre is less than three dollars (12*s.* 6*d*). The rapidity and cheapness of preparation strike the observer forcibly after he has watched the slow processes by which farms are made in the forests of Eastern Canada or British Columbia, in New Zealand bush, among Tasmanian and Australian gum trees, or by reclaiming waste lands in England or Scotland. Manifestly any considerable application of capital or a large inflow of farming population might, under such conditions, increase the wheat output very rapidly.

Farms carried on by companies on a large scale are still on their trial in the North-West. Some have proved unremunerative. One of those to which I have referred has begun to pay very satisfactory dividends, and there is no apparent reason why it should be an exceptional case. Everything depends upon honesty and thoroughness of management. The watchful eye of the small owner seems on the whole the most reliable means of stopping leakages, for which there are many opportunities on a large estate, and which are fatal in a time of keen farming competition. On the other hand, great savings are often effected by a sufficient command of capital, in which the company has an advantage over the small farmer.

Another point seems worth mentioning. One of the keenest observers of men in Canada told me that in his opinion there would always be one barrier to successful company farming in the West. "Able management," he said, "is a necessity, and a man competent to manage successfully a great farm will not continue to

work for a salary in a country which offers so many opportunities for private enterprise." My own observation leads me to think that the men are few and far between who are at once able enough and reliable enough to fill such posts.

Instances occur here and there through Manitoba and the territories of men who have begun in the small way on a quarter or half section, and with increasing prosperity and enlarged experience have gradually widened their operations till they were farming on a great scale. But they were working entirely on their own behalf. Lord Brassey's experience appears to have led him to decide against the large farm as the ideal method of dealing with prairie lands. After personal examination of the question he has determined to break up his large block of country into small farms, giving every facility for purchase on easy terms, advancing to selected settlers at a low rate of interest money sufficient for buildings and outfit, and allowing payments to extend over several years. Such is his faith in the country that he believes that this system, which seems to offer great advantages to the poor but enterprising settler, can be carried on without financial loss to himself. Whether by large proprietors or small, however, the north-western prairies have a capacity for rapid increase of production which might speedily become very great under any exigency of demand.

I pause here to guard against a possible misapprehension. It must not be thought that the rapid increase of wheat production in the North-West has hitherto

meant a correspondingly large surplus for export from Canada as a whole. As the output of the newly opened western areas has increased, that of the eastern provinces, where cereals are not produced without careful culture, has diminished. Quebec and all the maritime provinces make a heavy demand, for their own consumption, upon the surplus product of the West. Ontario, as the result of the drop in wheat prices, is gradually changing from a wheat-producing to a dairying country. Thus, though Manitoba and the territories show a large increase of production, Canada's export as a whole does not enlarge with corresponding rapidity.

Only a large addition to population in the West can make it do this. But given this inflow of population, and such a rise in price as makes wheat growing profitable, and there is scarcely any limit to the possibility of production in the Dominion. The area of Manitoba and the territories of Assiniboia, Alberta and Saskatchewan is 360,000 square miles, or 230,000,000 acres. It has been estimated, and, I think, not unfairly, that one-half of this is either good or workable wheat land. Yet of all this vast area little more than a million acres are now under actual cultivation for wheat.

The extent of land which the small farmer can profitably hold and cultivate is a question of some interest.

In travelling through Eastern Canada the impression constantly left upon the mind is that the average farmer clears up more land than is necessary and is wrestling with a larger area than he can properly till. If eastern experience be taken as a guide, then for the

man of the West an ordinary quarter section, which contains 160 acres, is quite enough for a single holding, and this is the amount usually taken up.

But it is maintained by some that for the most successful farming in the North-West it is necessary to work two sets of fields, and for this two quarter sections, or 320 acres, are required.

Senator Perley, who for many years has made a close practical study of North-Western farming, stated to me the arguments for this course. The first object is to get abundant opportunity for summer fallowing, which, he holds, is better than fall ploughing, inasmuch as it not only clears the land of weeds, but rests it; can be done when the farmer has more time, and from peculiar conditions about the retention of moisture ensures a better crop. Of this ideal farm of 320 acres, 200 acres should be arable, one-half being kept under crop, and the other half under summer fallow. The remaining 120 acres will suffice for pasturage and hay. Senator Perley believes that the 160 acre farm now commonly taken up will, as the country gets more settled, prove insufficient. Free pasturage on unoccupied land makes it appear enough now, but this condition will change rapidly. Even now the ordinary farmer is far from anxious that settlers should take up the blocks adjoining to himself, since, through exclusion from pasturage, he at once feels the pressure. The question is one that the intending settler should take into careful consideration, since a false start is not always easily remedied.

The North-Western farmer has his special difficulties to contend with. Here, as elsewhere, man learns by slow degrees to wrestle successfully with the problems of nature, and he does so by studying them and adapting himself to new conditions. The key to successful farming in the North-West consists in knowing how to meet the dangers of frost. To this end the farmer must prepare during the autumn for the work of the spring. Abundance of fall ploughing is a necessity of the country. The moment the harvest is off the fields the plough is turned on, and it must be kept at work until stopped by the freezing of the ground. Then with the earliest April warmth seeding may begin at once. Nowhere does the first fortnight of spring count for so much. Farmers once thought it necessary, as in other climates, to wait till the frost was out of the ground to begin sowing. Now they sow when barely an inch or two of ground is thawed, sufficient to allow the seed to be covered. After that the lack of spring showers, very common in the West, makes no difference, for the frost as it thaws furnishes moisture to the roots, while the hot inland sun forces on growth with great rapidity. Thus the frost which threatens the wheat becomes also its salvation. It is under such conditions that the No. 1 hard Manitoba wheat, pronounced by experts to be the best in the world, is grown.

Still, after all that the farmer can do, allowance must always be made in the North-West for a proportion of frozen wheat, though the quantity will decrease, as experience shows, with the cultivation of the country,

the drainage of lands, and the increase of skill in farming. But the term "frozen wheat," which suggests to most minds the entire destruction of the crop as a mercantile commodity, means nothing like this to the North-Western farmer. Slightly frosted wheat is reduced for flour-making purposes perhaps 30 per cent in value, what is called frozen wheat 50 per cent. Both are freely used by millers to make a cheaper kind of flour. But many experiments have now proved that they are open to a much more profitable use. It has been shown that frozen wheat, fed to pigs and cattle, is worth much more than when sold for milling purposes. The result of a series of tests made at the experimental farm at Brandon has been published. Fed to pigs the frozen wheat was found to realize 49 cents per bushel; fed to fattening steers from 56 to 68 cents in different trials. Other private and public tests give results somewhat similar. These prices are nearly double the market rate at which the wheat could be sold. In facts like these lies one of the chief arguments for greater attention to mixed farming than has yet been given to it in the North-West. With pigs, cattle, and sheep around him the farmer could choose between selling his inferior wheat at a greatly reduced price, and turning it into pork, beef, butter, and other products, for which there are always good prices and a steady demand. In the production of pork, especially, it is claimed by good authorities that the opportunity is very great. Taking the relative value of pork and wheat during the last two or three years there is some reason to think that it would

have been more profitable if every bushel even of the very best wheat had been fed to pigs and cattle rather than exported. The wheat-fed pork of the North-West may yet compete with the maize-fed pork of Chicago. So, too, in the case of poultry. With its abundance of refuse grain and large areas of stubble, no country ought to produce turkeys and other fowl more abundantly and cheaply.

At present there is unquestionably a great deal of waste. At Moosomin I went with a friend to study for the first time the construction and watch the operation of a grain elevator. The man in charge, in order to show us the working of the machinery, proceeded to get up steam, and to this end began shovelling into the furnace the screenings of the elevator. They consisted of inferior wheat mingled with the oily seeds of weeds, and he told us that this was almost the only fuel that he had used for two years. It made an excellent fire, but manifestly would also have made excellent food for cattle, pigs, or poultry, if properly prepared. At other places I found that the farmers were allowed to take back from the elevators, to feed their poultry, any quantity of the screenings they chose to remove, merely that it might be got rid of. Large manufacturers in Yorkshire and Lancashire have told me that in these days of competition their profits were often made from saving material which a generation ago was allowed to go to waste. The Manitoba farmer might take a leaf from their notebooks.

The enormous quantities of straw burned in the

fields ought also to have some economic value, considering the uses to which it is applied in other countries. The abundance of easily obtained prairie hay now takes away its use as fodder, and, till mixed farming prevails, it cannot even be used to enlarge the manure heap.

But the North-Western farmer takes to mixed farming slowly and reluctantly. For this there is at present more than one reason. Labour is often scarce and expensive, and the attention to detail required in mixed farming is therefore rendered difficult. Fencing is necessary with a variety of stock, and fencing in some parts of the treeless prairie country is expensive. On the other hand, there is something of the temptation of gambling in wheat raising. With a good season, large crops, and a favourable price, the profits from a few hundred acres of wheat land are very large. As far as one could learn from rather extensive inquiry, the production varies all the way from fifteen to forty bushels per acre, according to the nature of the soil and season. The price, too, has varied in different years from 55c. to $1 per bushel for the best grade of grain. In such circumstances the temptation to speculate on the chances of the year is very great. As long, however, as the farmers of the North-West stake so much upon a single product, so long must they be prepared for great fluctuations of prosperity. Wheat, in sympathy with prices all over the world, has never been so low as during the last two years. I found many a farmer in Manitoba who was getting only 55c. a bushel for his wheat, paying

at the same time high prices for pork, beef, butter, and other necessary articles of food, brought from Ontario and the United States. That this is bad farming, for which there can be no sufficient excuse, is a lesson which is being slowly but certainly learned. When it has been thoroughly learned—when mixed farming is the rule rather than the exception—I believe that the permanent prosperity of the North-Western farming interest is assured. This was the opinion I found held by men with long experience of the country, such as Governor Schultz and Mr. Greenway, the Premier of Manitoba. It is scarcely too much to say that if the depression in the price of wheat during the last three years, sore as is the strain which it has put on the North-Western farmer, drive him into making the most of farming opportunities outside of wheat-raising, a healthier condition of things will have been brought about in the country. The risk from frost, if faced with far-sighted energy, does not seem to me so great as the risk from drought in Australia—scarcely greater than the risk from a prolonged wet season in Great Britain. Hence I believe that this vast country will gradually be filled up with a prosperous farming population. The cold winter is not seriously dreaded by the people, and the other seasons give great climatic compensations. During the whole month of October, while I was going westward over the prairies, there was not a drop of rain, while the perfect sunshine which prevailed week after week furnished a striking contrast to the reports of storm and wet and cold which came from England. As

I journeyed eastward some weeks later winter was settling down on the land, and at Winnipeg the thermometer had already been at 20 degrees below zero. But there were the same bright sky and sunshine, and the clear cold seemed to give an added activity to people's steps and a buoyancy to their spirits.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH-WEST—*continued*

WHAT has been said in the previous chapter about the North-West had reference chiefly to the comparatively treeless prairie country which has hitherto been the principal area of wheat culture. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that North-Western Canada consists exclusively of level prairie. Westward from Manitoba along the Qu'Appelle, northward on the Saskatchewan, and all along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains are vast regions of a partly wooded, partly grass-covered country, park-like in appearance, undulating for the most part, and with striking variations of scenery formed by the grouping of mountain, hill, lake, and river.

Country of this kind will always have for many settlers attractions which they do not find in the absolutely level prairie—attractions for which no richness of soil or ease of culture can compensate. Parts of these regions, while admirably suited for ranching, are, without irrigation, less fitted for agriculture. This is true of considerable districts in the vicinity of Calgary,

where, however, the opportunities for irrigation are excellent, and only await the application of capital and skill.

Altogether the area of the semi-arid country where irrigation is occasionally necessary, or would give greater security to agriculture year by year, has been estimated to extend between 300 and 400 miles east and west, and more than a hundred miles north and south. Large as this area seems it is a mere bagatelle in the vast spaces of the North-West, and is, in reality, only a small spur of the corresponding area in the United States, wholly or partly arid; an area which has been estimated to cover more than a million square miles. Settlers in this district have been rather slow to admit to themselves that their part of the country labours under any farming disability, or is liable to peculiar risks. But it is better to face facts, and there is much reason to think that the lands of this region will be among the very best and the most profitable to work when irrigation has been secured. This has been American experience in California, Utah, Nevada, Colorado, and many other states where similar conditions prevail. One large district has already been selected for settlement by immigrants from Utah, accustomed in that state to deal with similar difficulties. The land department of the Canadian Pacific Railway is preparing to irrigate from the Bow River a plateau of about 1,000,000 acres near Medicine Hat, and steps of a like kind are being taken by smaller companies. Between the years 1877 and 1891, according to an official statement, 17,000,000

acres of land were put under ditch, and nearly 14,000 artesian wells sunk for irrigation purposes in the arid regions of the United States. Such a statement shows how little need there is to regard the partial aridity of the districts I have mentioned as a deterrent to agricultural enterprise, or as a permanent barrier to agricultural success. Still it has hampered early progress.

Other parts seem suited alike for grazing and agriculture. It is difficult to speak with anything short of enthusiasm of the appearance and apparent possibilities of one vast region which is now attracting much attention and to which a very considerable stream of settlers has already set in. The railway lately opened for a distance of about 200 miles from Calgary to Edmonton gives easy access to one part of this country; the line between Regina and Prince Albert to another. Between these points and both north and south of the Saskatchewan are areas which nature seems to have specially adapted for that mixed farming which I have mentioned as being the most reliable and satisfactory. There are numerous streams, large and small, of excellent water. The nutritious native grasses, once the only food of millions of buffalo, turn naturally into good hay as they stand, and, as in the purely ranching districts, give winter as well as summer food to horses, which are accustomed to pawing away the snow, and to cattle as well, when the snow is not deep on the ground. Abundant shelter for cattle is furnished by the valleys and woodland bluffs, and the latter supply also material for fencing and fuel. Of other

abundant fuel I shall have occasion to speak when considering the coal supplies of the Dominion.

In a drive over a northern portion of this territory, from Edmonton to St. Albert, I was struck with the signs of prosperity which followed even the careless farming of the half-breeds who have for some time occupied this district. Wide fields of wheat stubble, herds of sleek cattle in the fields, droves of fat pigs around the stacks of straw in the farmyards, flocks of poultry, all told of plenty to support in comfort a people content to live chiefly on the produce of their own farms. I cannot but think that this whole range of country offers great and varied inducements to hardy settlers, and would yield a rich reward to those who brought industry and intelligence to the work of farming. It is sure to be filled ultimately with a prosperous population, whether the process of settlement goes on slowly or rapidly.

Of the extent of territory capable of successful settlement still further north, in the direction of the Peace River, no one as yet even attempts to form an estimate. There is already abundant evidence to show that the deep northward bend of the isothermal lines which occurs as we approach the Rocky Mountains upsets entirely all calculations based on the idea that latitude alone determines climate. How far this fact enlarges the supposed scope of agricultural settlement in Canada is one of the interesting problems of the future. Our present concern, however, is with lands actually in the process of settlement.

Turning from the farming to the grazing districts, we find that the ranching industry, in Alberta especially, has in a few years grown to large dimensions. It is carried on chiefly by the aid of English capital and under English direction. At Calgary I found an interesting experiment being carried out with a view of reaching distant markets rapidly and effectually. Large numbers of cattle from the Cochrane Ranch were being killed in *abattoirs* at Calgary, and the chilled beef was being sent to the cities of Eastern Canada in cars specially arranged for the purpose. The meat was received at Montreal and Ottawa in perfect condition, competing successfully with the best that local markets could supply. It is claimed that, with improved transport arrangements, this is by far the best way in which to carry the products of the ranches to English markets as well. Some ardent believers in the system think that the scheduling of Canadian cattle, by compelling the use of new methods, may prove to the Canadian farmer a blessing in disguise. In 1872 Canada had exported no meat, live or dead, to Great Britain. The numbers of live cattle sent had already risen in 1891 beyond a hundred thousand annually, and yet this does not represent more than a fifth of what the British market absorbs. A special class of ships has been designed to meet the wants of this great trade, which has become a considerable factor in the prosperity of several British ports as well as Canadian, and in the success of steamship and railway systems. Horses have not as yet been exported in large numbers to Britain,

but the stock on the ranches has increased rapidly, and the wants of the British market are now being carefully studied. Lately an experiment has been made in transferring numbers of choice horses from the ranches to Ontario farms, whence, after being thoroughly broken, they are brought to England for sale. That it only pays to bring to the English market horses of the best quality is a point now well understood.

The ranching of the North-West, like its farming, has had its entire development within the last ten years. Experience has been painfully acquired: the ranchman has had many fluctuations of prosperity, and has felt his way slowly towards success. The best accessible information indicates that the industry is now established on a permanent and fairly satisfactory basis. Between Western ranches and Eastern farms it seems clear that Canada will more and more become a chief source of meat supply for the United Kingdom.

The clear, cool climate of the Dominion has proved exceptionally favourable to the health of cattle, and the scheduling which has been enforced for some time rests upon evidence so doubtful that the order will probably soon be withdrawn. The Alberta ranches, however, do not depend entirely upon the British market or that of Eastern Canada. They contribute to the supply of the mining regions of the Rocky Mountains, and this promises to be an outlet of increasing importance.

What has now been said shows to how great an extent the Canadian North-West depends upon its agricultural interests. Alike in the areas principally

devoted to wheat culture, in those where from the first mixed farming predominates, and in the ranching districts, the present and prospective prosperity of the country will consist in finding an adequate market for a large surplus of food products. This broad fact should be kept constantly in mind, since it cannot but exercise a decisive influence on the future policy of the Dominion.

I have as yet said nothing about the towns of the North-West. These must always furnish some index to the general prosperity of the country around them. Winnipeg, as is well known, after springing up with wonderful rapidity in the first years of settlement, suffered a violent reaction as the result of over speculation in business, and especially in real estate. The truth is that the inflow of farming population never matched the expectations of those who first went to Manitoba; the city increased in size beyond the necessities of the province, and so was compelled to wait some years for the latter to overtake it. Now the period of stagnation is past, and Winnipeg is making a steady and healthy growth. The constantly-increasing mileage of railway lines which centre at the city mark out for it an assured and large future. Not such a future, however, as Toronto or Montreal, for Winnipeg is without their immediate access to navigation, the key to great development, but still to stand at the gateway of the North-West, and to become its commercial, social and educational capital is no mean outlook. Brandon, too, is becoming a considerable

railway centre; much building is going on, and the smaller town is anxious to secure from the railway companies the same advantages as a wholesale distributing point which Winnipeg now enjoys. From both Regina and Calgary railway systems extend north and south, and both have a prevailing air of substantial prosperity. I have before referred to the numerous small but flourishing towns which spring up along every new line of railway. None of these depends upon manufactures; all owe their existence to the increasing wealth of the surrounding agricultural country, and furnish the most conclusive proof of its producing capacity. One remark about all North-Western towns should not be omitted. In them life is as safe, property as secure, and the ordinary supremacy of law as complete as in the old towns of Eastern Canada, or in the country towns and villages of England and Scotland. This advantage over the western towns of the United States the country owes in part to the greater slowness of growth which is so often complained of, and to the natural selection of population effected by a northern climate—partly, no doubt, to superiority of judicial and social institutions. It is no small thing that the North-West can offer to every immigrant all the social security to which he has been accustomed in the oldest communities.

A larger population is unquestionably the greatest need of the country. While, however, there is at present a strong popular demand for a vigorous immigration policy on the part of the Government, I have

found that this demand is always qualified by the opinion that numbers should not be purchased at the expense of quality. Should restraints be placed upon undesirable immigration by the United States, Canada will scarcely welcome what her neighbours refuse. But there are strong reasons for thinking that the North-West has now gained a stage of development and established for itself a name which will draw to it a steady and sufficient inflow of the most desirable population.

What are the classes of settlers who succeed and seem best fitted for the North-West? On the whole one is inclined to describe it as essentially a country for the poor man or the man with a moderate amount of means. Alberta, with its ranches, and some of the prairie districts, such as the Qu'Appelle Valley, with opportunities for farms on a large scale, furnish openings for the successful use of larger capital; but men who themselves work the land are what the country chiefly requires, and to them it will prove most satisfactory. Among these the advantage certainly lies with immigrants who have had some previous practical acquaintance with the farming conditions of the Canadian climate, or of a climate similar to it. They begin at once to make crops grow, which the unskilled immigrant rarely does. Settlers from the Eastern Provinces or from the more Northern States easily adapt themselves to the conditions of the country; so on the whole does the Scottish labourer. The English and Irish farm hand has less flexibility for change, but he,

too, succeeds by dint of pluck and industry. Among foreigners the Icelander easily takes the first place, in virtue of his sobriety, industry, and frugality. The Scandinavian does well, and the plodding German. The North-West will never be a congenial home for the Italian and other Latin races. These naturally gravitate towards the warm southern and middle portions of the United States or towards South America I heard very grave doubts expressed about the success of one or two colonies of Russian Jews. The difficulty in this case was attributed to inherent disinclination to agricultural pursuits. It may have been quite as much due to the fact that as emigrants they had too much assistance. The experience of the North-West shows that extraordinary care is required to make a success of assisted emigration. Lord Brassey has discussed in the columns of *The Times* the comparative failure of his first efforts to make easy the path of the emigrant on the colonization estate in which he is concerned. It was interesting to find that most of the men who appear to have been discontented, if not idle, when receiving aid, have become comparatively successful when thrown entirely upon their own resources and compelled to work in their own way. This I learned on very good authority. Lord Brassey's enthusiasm for promoting colonization has now wisely been turned, as I have before mentioned, to giving indirect encouragement rather than direct aid to settlers. The consideration of this point leads up to a larger question.

To speak broadly, it must be said that the young Englishman of the better classes sent out to the North-West to be a farmer is not a success. The consensus of opinion which I discovered among practical men upon this point was very striking, and the general statement is not disproved by many exceptions. The labouring man coming from the Eastern Provinces or from the Old Country to the West, with scarcely a dollar of capital will in a few years be a fairly prosperous and contented settler, with a good farm and an increasing stock. The young Englishman, coming with the apparent advantage of some capital, and a quarterly or half-yearly remittance from home, at the end of the same time has not got nearly so far—he has less land under cultivation, often he is in debt and more or less discontented, execrating the country, and preventing a more suitable class of emigrants from coming to it. Wellington thought that Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. The public-school life of the young Englishman develops qualities which make him a good soldier or sailor, but not a good farmer; it gives him the spirit and dash of the racer for physical labour, not the patient force of the draught horse. And, after all, the farmer must be the steady draught horse of the social system.

Often it is not the strongest fibre which is sent out from the better class of English homes, the market for all that is excellent being best at home. No greater mistake can be made by English parents than to think that a North-Western life may prove a corrective for

tendencies to dissipation. The very opposite result flows naturally from the absence of social restraint. "Perfect devils to drink." was the description given by an Edmonton hotel-keeper of two young Englishmen who happened to be with him at the moment, and with money to spend furnished by a new remittance. "Rum-punch all the morning, then brandy and soda till three or four, when they are paralysed and have to sleep some hours, then whiskey-toddy till bed-time." And he offered to show them to us in his bar-room in any of these stages of inebriation. An extreme case, no doubt, but pathetic enough to think of. A good deal of the loafing around hotels and bar-rooms in the North-West is done by young Englishmen, and the term "remittance man" tends to become an expression of contempt. If these men must come out, let the extra ladies of the family come to exercise their better influence over them. They will be as well employed as in slumming or parish work at home, and they will be giving what the North-West wants—something of England's best to leaven social life. One never meets in the West an Englishwoman who is not a centre of wholesome and refining influence. It would, indeed, be a boon to the country if the same were true of every son of an English gentleman who goes to it.

There are numbers, of course, who, according to their lights, are trying to do their best. But public-school life in England creates a very strong desire to mingle sport with work in after life, and often the prominence, on the whole, is given to sport. Conditions in the North-

West will not at present admit of thus mingling employment. It is the persistent worker who succeeds there. The remittance which is intended to help too often tends to weaken. In the North-West Mounted Police young Englishmen have done well. The military discipline and the life on horseback in the open air draw out their better qualities. So with ranching and with work on sheep and cattle stations in other parts of the Empire. What I have said applies chiefly to farming.

One has no compunction in pointing out instances of failure. It is well that parents should be warned of what their children must confront when they go abroad, and it is equally right that any unsatisfactory form of emigration to the North-West should be checked. Perhaps, too, perfect frankness of discussion about the actual position of affairs may do something to prevent misconceptions and to remedy mistakes.

To another matter reference should be made in this connexion. The system of paying large premiums for the instruction of youths in farming or ranching is utterly discredited among practical men in Canada. Occasionally the plan may work well, but it is open to grave abuses. Labour of all kinds has its cash value on Canadian farms. The best possible means by which a young man can test his suitability for the life and become competent is to hire out as a labourer with a Canadian farmer for a year or two, depending entirely upon his wages for his support. If he passes this test successfully he is fit for the life of the country. If the

work proves too severe, the experiment has not at least been an expensive one, and he can select some other outlet for his energies. At the end of his period of service the money that would have been paid in premiums or thrown away in lightly-spent remittances will be sufficient to give him a good start in a sphere for which he has been prepared by hard but necessary experience. There is a good deal to be said in favour of gaining this elementary experience in the older communities of the Eastern Provinces before he faces the rougher life of the West. This must be determined by circumstances. The necessity for such a course diminishes as the country fills up. Arrangements can often be made through friends or emigration offices with substantial farmers to give employment to young men, at first for their board and later for wages, which increase with their earning capacity. The latter point is easily settled justly by the *employé* holding himself free to find a better market for his labour, if he can. To send out young men with capital, but without experience and settled characters, is practically to invite the attentions of those who are always ready to plunder or lead astray the weak and unsophisticated.

In addition to the settlers from the older provinces of the Dominion, and from England, Ireland, and Scotland, there are being formed at some points in the North-West a curious variety of small colonies of different nationalities, mostly northern—Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Belgians, Bavarians, Alsatians, Icelanders, and many others. A small band of settlers comes at

first under some special impulse, and gradually attracts to itself recruits from the home centre. The numbers are sufficient to give a degree of cohesion to these small communities and some vitality to the languages they speak. A more complete intermixture with the prevailing English-speaking population would facilitate the work of assimilation. On the other hand, the emigrant finds himself at once among friends, and so does not feel so keenly the change from the old to the new land. It is difficult as yet to judge how far this method of settlement will extend. It can in any case only temporarily lengthen out the process of amalgamation.

A new and highly interesting factor has lately appeared in the settlement of the North-West. The United States have become an important recruiting ground for immigrants. In the Eastern Provinces I had heard of a movement northward from the Western States towards the Alberta and Saskatchewan districts. On inquiry at the land office at Winnipeg I was shown long lists of receipts for first payments on lands in the Prince Albert districts made by farmers in Dakota, Nebraska, Washington, and even as far south as Kansas. These men had already moved into the country, or were preparing to do so in the coming spring. At Calgary a more striking proof of the reality of the movement was thrust upon me. In going northward to Edmonton I found myself spending a not very comfortable, but highly interesting, day in a train packed with emigrants, men, women, and children, most of whom were removing from a single district in the State of

Washington to the banks of the Saskatchewan. I learned that the northward trains from Calgary for some time before had been crowded in a like way.

In conversation with the immigrants it was easy to discover the explanation of this new and unexpected movement of population. "Land is getting to be land on this continent," one of them remarked to me in Western idiom. The rush into a newly-opened district, such as that which took place at Oklahoma a few years ago, illustrates the extent to which land hunger is already felt in the United States. Guided by an instinct almost like that which directed the buffalo to the fertile feeding grounds of the Saskatchewan, the tide of population which filled up the older Western States and flowed on to the less fertile regions of Dakota, or to the mountain districts with their limited farming lands, seems now to have taken a bend northward. If the expectations of its pioneers are fulfilled, it seems probable that this movement will become very considerable during the next few years. My latest information shows that it was kept up through the spring and summer of the year which has just ended. These immigrants are of a class which the North-West most of all wants. Many are Canadians returning after trying their fortunes in the United States. Most seemed to be bringing with them money, horses, cattle, and household equipment. Best of all, they bring skill in pioneering work and acquaintance with its conditions, in these points having an infinite superiority over the emigrant direct from Europe. It was striking to observe

the confidence and reliance upon their own resources with which these men, accompanied by their wives and children, faced the task of finding homes for themselves north of the Saskatchewan in the months of October and November, when the long, severe winter was all before them. They were doing it in order to be ready for a good spring's work.

Once more, in Southern Alberta I found that a group of Mormons—an offshoot from Salt Lake—had purchased to the south and east of Lethbridge more than 500,000 acres of land from the Alberta Coal and Mining Company. About 500 settlers have already entered this country, and preparations are being made for a continued influx from Utah, where land has become scarce. Other immigrants are freely accepted, as there is not, I believe, any wish to form a distinct Mormon colony. The capitalists who have undertaken this enterprise expect to repeat here the process of irrigation by which the Salt Lake Valley was changed from a semi-desert to a richly productive country. It is proposed to divert the waters of the St. Mary's river through a canal which will make a large area as well suited for agricultural as it now is for pastoral purposes.

The North-West is thus being approached from various points, and by many classes of immigrants. A great rush of population, such as marked the settlement of some of the Western States, is neither to be expected nor desired. But everything now points to a steady and healthy growth, such as is required for the fuller consolidation of the Dominion.

A study of North-Western Canada enables one to understand the main conditions of the rivalry in production going on between the wheat grower at home and the wheat grower abroad. The North-Western farmer has first of all cheap land of his own, worked by machinery with singular ease, and with a store of natural fertility which is only exhausted after many years of continuous cropping. If he takes up a Government homestead his land costs him little more than the expense of survey. Even if he buys it from a railway or land company at three or four dollars an acre, it has not cost him in the first year, when ready for seed, more per acre than the yearly rent of wheat land in England. His invested capital is therefore very small. This is his first and great advantage. Against this must be put the fact that he is far from the market which the English farmer has almost at his door. It costs from 30 cents to 40 cents a bushel to carry wheat from many points in the West to Liverpool or London. While the wide, level stretches of prairie offer great facilities for the use of labour-saving agricultural machinery, still for any extra labour required there a high price must be paid.

The English farmer, on the other hand, has cheap capital and cheap labour, and he lives in a country where all manufactured goods are cheap. In direct taxes he pays more, in indirect less than the Canadian. The contest is more nicely balanced than is generally supposed. Agricultural depression has been felt for some time in the new land as well as in the old.

Superior energy or skill may incline the advantage one way or the other, or the chance of the season. A lowering of rents may give it to the Englishman; a lowering of duties to the Canadian. The cheapening of transportation both by land and sea will have much to do with the question in the future. When the exhaustion of his lands compels the farmer abroad to use fertilizers, the balance of advantage will again be shifted. The area of abundant wheat production has during the last forty years moved steadily westward in America from New York State through Ohio, Iowa, and Illinois to Kansas; then northward through Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Dakota to the Canadian North-West, and there the European farmer will have his last keen competition with a rich virgin soil.

As with wheat, so with cattle and horses. For the lease of his broad pastures in the grazing country, the ranchman pays but a trifling sum. During the whole summer his stock feeds upon grass of the most nutritious kind, raised without any expense for fertilizers or culture. During the greater part of the winter it feeds upon hay cured where it stands in the fields, without any expense for being cut. But the ranchman, again, is distant from his market, and the fatigues and risks of long transportation for his cattle weigh heavily against him. Neither in wheat nor in cattle has there been much profit during the past two seasons for the man of the North-West. I doubt, however, whether agricultural depression or the failure

of crops ever presses so closely or severely upon the Canadian as upon the English farmer. The latter has his rent to pay whatever happens. The former reduces his expenses, and, owning his land and having little demand upon him for ready cash, tides over a crisis more easily.

CHAPTER III

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

To pass from study of the North-West to consideration of the remarkable railway enterprise by which it has been thrown open to the world is a natural transition.

Never were the fortunes of a great country and a great commercial corporation so closely intertwined as in the case of the Canadian Dominion and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. In all the Eastern Provinces the Canadian Pacific is either absorbing the smaller lines, or taking its place beside the greater ones as a keen competitor. In the vast undeveloped North-West it has the field as yet practically to itself. The 7,200 miles of line directly owned or worked by the company, the 1,800 miles controlled indirectly, already give it a first place among the railway systems of the world. This mileage of both kinds is rapidly increasing year by year and must continue to increase, in order to satisfy the wants of a growing country. The line competes successfully with the greatest American systems, and is stretching out its arms to the

heart of the continent. For many hundred miles south of the national boundary its influence as a competitor is felt through the running connexions which it has formed. A new route completed during the past year, from Regina across the American boundary, gives it a very considerable advantage over any American line in distance from the Pacific to Chicago, as it already had in the gradients by which the mountains are crossed. Already it has captured a large part of the tea trade between China, Japan, and the Eastern States, as well as Eastern Canada. It is the only system across the American continent which is under a single direction, a circumstance which gives it a great advantage over any existing line in the United States in dealing with through traffic and special rates. The statement made by President Harrison in his last Message to Congress, that the Canadian Pacific is free from the restraints of the inter-State commerce law, is true so far as Canadian traffic is concerned, but quite incorrect if applied, as he apparently intended, to traffic carried on for the United States. The 30,000 tons of trans-Pacific freight, the $100,000,000 worth of goods which President Harrison mentioned as carried from point to point in the United States by Canadian Railways across Canadian territory, represent work gained in perfectly legitimate competition and in more than ordinarily strict compliance with inter-State law. This, at least, is Sir William Van Horne's assertion, made before a large gathering of business men of Boston, and I see no reason to doubt its accuracy.

With the termini of its main line on the Atlantic and Pacific, and touching the great lakes in its course across the continent, the company is becoming deeply concerned in transportation by water as well as by land. It already runs one important line of steamships across the Pacific to Japan and China, and another upon Lakes Superior and Huron. With the newly-opened line across the Pacific to Australasia it works in close co-operation. The same course will no doubt be pursued with the contemplated fast line of steamships across the Atlantic to Britain, and it has even been proposed that this line should be worked under the immediate direction of the company, and as a part of its system. The greatest activity marks the enterprises of the company across the whole breadth of the continent. In the East connexion has been secured with the ports of Boston and New York, to supplement that with Montreal, Quebec, St. John, and Halifax. In the prairie country new branches are being pushed forward, and wherever they go new towns are being built up under the auspices, one may rather say under the immediate direction, of the company. The Rocky Mountains will probably soon be penetrated by a new line through the Crow's Nest Pass, by which the company hopes to reach the new mining districts of British Columbia. Preparations are being made to double-track the line between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, the most important route of wheat transportation. For the wooden trestle bridges occasionally used in the early days of construction bridges of stone

and steel are being rapidly substituted, so that the line now compares favourably, in solidity of construction, with the best on the continent.[1] In connexion with the settlement of the large areas of land granted to it by the Government of the Dominion, a vigorous policy is being carried out. It is preparing to deal with the irrigation problem in the Calgary district. Mines of coal and mines of salt are being developed on the properties of the company. Whalebacks, those latest monstrosities of naval architecture, said to represent a great economy in cost of construction as well as in running expenses as compared with ordinary vessels, are being built on Lake Superior for the transport of grain; steamships and barges on Lake Huron. Vast

[1] The bridging of the St. Lawrence River for railway purposes furnishes one of the most remarkable illustrations with which I am acquainted of the progress made during the last thirty years in combining lessened cost in construction with complete solidity of work. The Victoria Bridge, by which the Grand Trunk crosses the St. Lawrence near Montreal, has always been looked upon as one of the greatest of those feats of construction upon which the engineering fame of Robert Stephenson rests. The cost of the Victoria Bridge was $6,300,000, without reckoning interest on the capital during the six years of construction. To serve precisely the same purpose a steel bridge has been built a few miles further up the stream for the Canadian Pacific Railway, under the direction of its present chief engineer, P. A. Peterson, C.E. The cost of this bridge, begun in 1886 and completed in 1887, was under $1,000,000. The Canadian Pacific Line from Smith's Falls to Sherbrooke, a distance of 225 miles, *with the St. Lawrence Bridge at Lachine included*, cost less than the Victoria Bridge alone. Such a contrast illustrates the extent to which the managers of the Grand Trunk are handicapped by capital expenditure.

elevators have been constructed at essential points. A telegraph system, which already competes successfully with the long-established Western Union and other companies, has been constructed across the whole breadth of Canada, and it has established a powerful Transatlantic cable connexion. Everywhere along its lines a standard of travelling comfort, higher perhaps than can be found elsewhere in America, has been inaugurated by the company. Colonist cars with excellent sleeping arrangements are provided to carry emigrants to the prairies with little of the discomfort once thought to be the necessary accompaniment of pioneer movement. Pullman and kitchen cars, equipped with every modern improvement, supply the wants of the rich. In the mountain country, at Quebec, and on the Pacific coast hotels have been built and splendidly equipped to meet the need of the increasing volume of tourist travel which is attracted by the magnificent scenery of British Columbia and the Lower St. Lawrence. Enterprises of a minor kind are entered upon freely whenever an opportunity presents itself of developing business for the road. All this represents an astonishing amount of energy and effort. From Halifax to Vancouver the "C.P.R.," as it is familiarly called, is a factor, and often a large factor, in the affairs alike of the country village and of the great city—in the politics of the municipality, the province, and the Dominion.

While ready to sharply criticize and combat details of policy and administration Canadians are full of ad-

miration for the company and its work as a whole. They acknowledge that it has taken a leading part in making Canada better known in the world. They freely admit that the almost phenomenal success achieved by the company during the last few years has contributed in no slight degree to raise the credit of the whole Dominion, hitherto not a little injured by unsuccessful railway ventures. They are fond of pointing out that at its head is a man who combines an extraordinary knowledge of detail with ability to deal with the transportation problems of a continent, and that in an age of great railway men he easily takes his place in the front rank. They agree that business merit is the only guarantee of promotion in the company's service, and that as a consequence Canada has never before had so much business energy concentrated in a single corporation.

But the existence of a corporation exercising such widespread influence and holding franchises so important must always in any country give occasion for grave questionings.

Does it enjoy too wide a monopoly of the country's industry? Will it or will it not use aright its vast power? Have the people any sufficient guarantee that its immense influence will not be exercised to the public detriment? These are questions which are closely debated in Canada. It is safe to say that a corporation which has so wide a range of interest, and which is strenuously pushing its way further and further into almost every department of industrial

activity in Canada, must always live on the defensive, and always be prepared to combat hostile criticism and justify its existence by its works.

I found a tendency in some quarters in Canada to speak of the railway as a grasping monopoly, which seeks to enrich itself at the public expense. Part of this talk is no doubt due to the play of party spirit; part may be credited to that eternal vigilance which is the price paid for liberty. But there is probably no question which is likely to come up for discussion more often in Canada for years to come; few about which accurate information and a sober judgment are more to be desired.

One point is first to be noted. The people of Canada, after years of debate and consideration, deliberately elected that the greatest railway system of the country should not be under the control of the Government, but should be carried on as a private enterprise. They endowed it magnificently with lands; they added the gift of a considerable mileage of line fully constructed; they backed up for a time its borrowings by public guarantee. When all this was done they preferred that it should be handed over entirely to business men to be conducted on business principles for the benefit of the shareholders. In effect, they invited the company to make the most of its great opportunities. Nor were these opportunities considered too great by impartial men. The right to build the line, with all the privileges, land-grants, and franchises connected with it, was for some time in the open market with-

but finding financiers bold enough to undertake the task. When the task was undertaken the most gloomy forebodings were expressed about its success. The directors had their periods of great anxiety. The two of them who assumed the greatest risks, and upon whom the burden of upholding the credit of the company at critical moments in the early years of the enterprize chiefly fell, instead of gaining by their connection with the undertaking, as is generally believed, really lost heavily. Stock which has been in the 90's, and, during the late years of extraordinary railway depression, when numbers of the most important systems of America have passed into the hands of receivers, has continued to hold a relatively good position, once stood as low as 37; so that if the "C.P.R." is to-day a success, it has become a success by hard conflict; if some of its builders and managers have won wealth which here and there provokes envy, it has been won after great and prolonged risk.

The advocates of state railways might argue that this risk could have best been taken by the state, and the increment of value thus secured for the people as a whole. But it does not follow that because a railway pays as a private enterprise it would succeed under Government management. Canadian experience and opinion point in quite an opposite direction. A company can do many things which a Government cannot do. Mr. Sandford Fleming, the distinguished Canadian engineer, pointed out to me that when he had the superintendence of the Government railways

large sums of money were at times lost because work that for the greatest economy required instant execution had to go through the slow process of being put up to public tender in order to guard a Minister of Railways from suspicion of jobbery. The president and directors of a company are bound by no such considerations. Again, there is no doubt that the large revenue of the "C.P.R.," already amounting to more than twenty million dollars annually, has been in no small degree created by the courageous backing up of private industries and outside enterprises which ultimately bring freight and travel to the road. The railway has had to make business for itself. No Government under our system of party politics would dare to deal with private industries and men in the same unfettered way that the business company has done. To do so would be to expose itself to endless suspicion.

This view, I think, is fully recognized in Canada, and I could discover no regret that the original decision of the country, so different from that arrived at in Australia, had not been to keep the railway under public control. Still there is a dread, perhaps natural, that the vast growth of the system may make it a menace to public interests. The subject is worthy of careful consideration. In discussing it the varying conditions under which the railway does its work in different parts of the continent must be carefully noted.

As I have said, in the North-West the Canadian Pacific has the work of transportation chiefly to itself.

Its original legal monopoly, which provided that no line should be built across the national boundary to bring it into competition with American systems, was given up in 1888, when it received a considerable compensation from the General Government for the surrender of this privilege of its charter. For the wheat transport of Winnipeg and the surrounding country it has now to compete with the Northern Pacific... Connexions are made also with American lines near Lethbridge and near Vancouver, and others will follow. It has itself "carried the war into Africa" by building a line from the neighbourhood of Regina across the national boundary in the direction of Minneapolis and Chicago. So vigorously, however, does it follow up the progress of settlement with new branches, and so difficult is it for new lines to penetrate its territory successfully, that one is still correct in saying that it has the North-West mainly to itself, and this position is likely to be long maintained over whole provinces which are as large as European States.

One asks if the company, with its wide-reaching monopoly of transportation, is acting fairly by the farmers and traders of the country, and if the vast undeveloped West has any adequate protection against unjust railway exactions in the future. After making the fullest examination of the case that I could, I am disposed to answer both of these questions in the affirmative. In regard to the fairness of present treatment, I was challenged to make the closest inquiry by Sir William Van Horne himself. Complaints, of

course, are numerous, but they require careful sifting. The problems connected with through and local rates, or what is called the long and short haul, with rates for places where there is competition with water carriage and where there is not, for places with a return traffic and those without any, are very complicated, and often lead to accusations of injustice which cannot be sustained on close examination. Brandon, for instance, feels aggrieved because it does not get the same westward rates as a wholesale distributing centre that Winnipeg does. But Brandon has, in proportion to distance, a distinct compensating advantage over Winnipeg in eastward rates for wheat, a far more vital question for the people of the surrounding country. One heard complaints because much more is charged for carrying a car load of goods from Toronto to Edmonton than from Toronto to the Pacific coast, a greater distance. A little inquiry elicited the fact that in the one case there was no return freight, in the other there was, to say nothing of the fact that on the Pacific coast the railway is compelled to compete with ocean carriage. Rates in the mountain division were said to be excessively high in comparison with those on the prairies. But was not the contrast in the cost of transportation far more striking before the railway existed at all? A British Columbian mill-owner, whom I met in crossing the Atlantic, told me that he had always grumbled at the rates until he had crossed the mountains, and observed for himself the road over which the freight had to be

brought. The expense of maintaining the line through such a country must be relatively enormous.

Principal Grant, with whom I discussed the question before going West, said to me, "The best test is to find out whether the introduction of the Northern Pacific competition at Winnipeg which followed the Manitoba agitation really resulted in a decisive lowering of rates." This seemed reasonable. I found that the rate per hundredweight for carrying wheat from Winnipeg to Fort William had dropped from 24 cents to 21 cents, or less than 2 cents per bushel, certainly not a decisive reduction, and one which I was told by unprejudiced parties would probably have taken place in any case as the consequence of a greater volume of exportation. A good understanding as to what was a paying rate seems to have been established at once and has been maintained between the two companies. In addition to this reduction I was told that merchants received much more attention from railway officials now that they had an alternative route by which to carry on their traffic. These gains can scarcely be considered sufficient returns for the subsidy of about a million dollars, by which Manitoba induced the Northern Pacific to carry a line into the province. But if the practical result of the Manitoba agitation was not very great, the sentimental result is not to be ignored. The galling sense of an ever-present monopoly was removed. So long as it existed there was a tendency to attribute to it every ill from which the country might happen to suffer. The people and the railway company now

appear to work together on the best of terms for the development of the country. Curiously enough it was the Canadian Pacific itself which really gained greatly by the destruction of its monopoly of communication with Manitoba. Its securities, depressed by the political agitation which disturbed the province and the Dominion, after the settlement of the question steadily rose in value. It may be safely said that both the company and the public of Manitoba learned lessons from this great controversy which they are not likely to forget.

It is easy, however, to understand the chief reason why railway rates, even when intrinsically reasonable, should appear oppressive to the North-Western farmer at the present time. With wheat at 45 or 50 cents a bushel he sees half or more of its value absorbed in the cost of carriage to market. Under such circumstances the temptation to clamour for a reduction of freight rates is very great. Yet he should reflect that it must cost as much to carry wheat to market which brings 50 cents a bushel as that which brings a dollar.

I return to the important point that west of Winnipeg, over a vast extent of territory, the company still has a practical, though no longer a theoretical, monopoly of railway transport. Does any real danger lie behind the fact? I think not. It seems to me that self-interest adequately takes the place of competition. The filling up of the North-West with a prosperous, producing population is the one essential to the permanent prosperity of the Canadian Pacific.

The contented settler is, as I said before, the best immigration agents. It is he who draws after him from the old land a steadily-increasing stream of neighbours, friends, and relatives. On purely business principles, therefore, the railway company is bound to see that, as far as possible, the settler is located on good soil; it is bound to be considerate afterwards in giving him access to markets at reasonable rates. It cannot afford to be on bad terms with settlers; it cannot afford to incur the hostility of the whole country. This seems to me the one effective and sufficient guarantee which the North-West has against the evils of railway monopoly. On the other hand, the country itself is a gainer, and is relieved of a heavy responsibility by the existence of a powerful company deeply interested in the settlement of the vacant lands, and putting forth every effort to that end. The Canadian Pacific is to-day the most efficient immigration agency at work in Canada. A large Federal expenditure on immigration is not popular in the Eastern Provinces, which, after taxing their resources in opening up the West, now see their own population lessened by the attractions which the prairies offer to young men. It is therefore fortunate that a powerful and progressive railway company, with immense interests at stake, is at hand to take a vigorous lead in promoting the settlement of the country. The Federal Government might, in my opinion, advantageously give it more efficient and direct assistance than it has done. Every new settler who goes into the West contributes, not merely

to the revenues of the railway company, but to the revenues of the Dominion as well. As I have said before, the interests of the two are singularly intertwined. Throughout the North-West the conviction is forced upon one that the country has everything to gain from the enlarging prosperity of the Canadian Pacific; that the Canadian Pacific has everything to gain from securing and maintaining the confidence of the people.

What the living wage for a railway may be is, of course, a question which only experts can decide. It must be especially difficult to decide in the case of a railway like the Canadian Pacific, built in advance of settlement, and compelled to work great lengths of line where local revenue cannot for years be expected to meet expenditure. But two or three points seem to me very clear. Should the railway carry at anything less than paying rates, the harm done to its resources and credit would soon react on the credit of the Dominion, and of industrial enterprises throughout the Dominion. During the last few years the line has created a new standard of the capacity of the country to give satisfactory employment to English capital. Should the prestige it has won in this respect weaken, there is not an enterprise in Canada which would not suffer in consequence. Again, since nothing could well do more to delay the settlement of the North-West than an impression that it was under the heel of a remorseless and selfish railway monopoly, the danger to the country of having unfounded charges disseminated against the railway is very great.

At the last session of the Dominion Parliament, in reply to certain charges of levying excessive rates, the directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway boldly challenged a Government inquiry, claiming that it could be shown that the farmers of the North-West were in a better position, in regard to the cost of reaching the world's markets with their wheat, than the farmers of the Western United States, of Russia, India, the Argentine Republic, or Australia. The Government inquiry thus asked for has been promised, and it might with advantage lead up to the adoption of some general policy for dealing with such questions. The clear and public definition of alleged grievances; the prompt and equally public statement of the company's point of view seems the only course sufficient for the circumstances.

From the point at Fort William where the railway reaches the head of Lake Superior a new set of conditions prevails, since there it comes into competition with water carriage, always formidable to a railway. As a rule it is the water route which dictates the rate. This competition is increasing with the improvement of the canals. By using the American canal at Sault Sainte Marie vessels drawing 18 feet or 19 feet can now pass freely from the head of Lake Superior to the extremity of Lake Erie. The corresponding Canadian canal at Sault Sainte Marie has been pushed on with great energy, and is now ready for use. The canals from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario and from Lake Ontario to Montreal are being deepened, and before

three years there will be, according to the present calculations of the Canadian Government, an open 14-feet canal passage from the head of Lake Superior to the point of ocean shipment on the St. Lawrence. The anticipated completion of this canal system has given rise to an agitation in some of the Western American towns for the construction of a ship canal from Buffalo to New York, and the question received marked attention in the last Presidential Message of Mr. Harrison. But the point on which I want to lay stress is that the cheap lake and canal transport will take away from the Canadian Pacific during the period of open navigation any monopoly of trade from Fort William eastward to the Atlantic. As a matter of fact, the company even now uses its boats on Lake Superior and its eastward-bound cars to keep down freight rates from that point. Having to meet the competition of the Northern Pacific for the wheat traffic of the West, its constant object is to make Fort William rather than Chicago or Duluth the most advantageous point of shipment. This can only be done by keeping down eastward rates from Fort William as nearly as possible to the cost of carriage. West of Manitoba, again, any considerable increase of freight charges would make the shipment of wheat impossible; thus the curious fact arises that this great transcontinental railway makes its profit on wheat carriage almost entirely within the four or five hundred miles between Fort William and Winnipeg, all further transportation being done at about cost price. I believe

that this statement, singular as it may seem, will bear investigation.

Besides the competition of lake and canal traffic, that of the Grand Trunk and other lines begins as soon as Ontario is reached. Here no one questions the fact that the Canadian Pacific, by superior activity, has given a decided stimulus to all railway work. It has probably made it impossible that the Grand Trunk can much longer be managed from England, so manifest are the advantages of having the directorate on the spot, and in a position to deal rapidly and effectively with every difficulty, and to make the most of every opportunity. In this central division of the continent, too, is brought out most clearly the necessity that any Canadian system should be of great size if it is to compete on equal terms with the vast organizations of the United States. On the American continent, with its widespread combinations, weak railways are driven to the wall.

Originally the Eastern terminus of the railway was at Montreal, but connexion has now been established with all the provinces immediately on the Atlantic coast: with the City of Quebec; with New Brunswick, by a short line across the State of Maine, and by an alternative route entirely on British territory down the valley of the St. John; with Halifax, through the running powers which it has acquired over the Intercolonial. Thus it is in touch with all the chief Atlantic ports of Canada both for summer and winter.

It is the one chain which links the Dominion together from ocean to ocean.

But while it has connexion with the extreme Eastern ports it has not in the East the same control of communication which it enjoys in the West. It may appear strange that a movement to give it in the maritime provinces a command almost as absolute has met with a good deal of support in parts of the country. The question arose in 1892, and became a subject for vehement discussion.

A proposal was made that the Intercolonial Railway, the Eastern division of the transcontinental system, which consists of about 1,100 miles of road, and has hitherto been worked as a state railway, should be handed over entirely to the control of the Canadian Pacific. This road was originally built as a part of the Confederation compact, with the object of more closely uniting the maritime provinces with old Canada. On the advice of the Imperial authorities, and for military reasons, it was constructed along a route which was not the most direct, and which therefore involved unusual expense for maintenance. It was never expected to make a large return for the money spent upon it, and rates have been designedly kept low to encourage inter-provincial trade. Two competing lines have since been built from the St. Lawrence to the sea coast, breaking into the command of traffic which the Intercolonial at first enjoyed, but also furnishing a remarkable illustration of the growth of inter-provincial trade. Under

these circumstances. A deficit has been incurred in working it amounting in some years to more than £100,000. There can be little doubt that the political and social cohesion brought about between the provinces by the railway was cheaply purchased even at this rate. Still the deficit long proved a distinct element of friction in the machinery of government, and it became the ground of much party conflict. It was attributed by hostile critics to the inefficiency of Government management; by friendly critics to restraints under which Government control necessarily acts, or to the inherent difficulties of operating a road originally constructed for other than strictly business purposes. It should be said that skilled accountants have taken an entirely different view of the matter, and have claimed that the deficiency could be traced to the fact that, on the Intercolonial, sums spent in construction were charged to revenue which in other railways were charged to capital. But whatever its cause a resolute effort has been made of late to get rid of this deficit. The attempt has so far succeeded that in 1893 it was reduced to about £5,000, and revenue and expenditure were nearly balanced in 1894. There seems fair ground to hope that the improvement is permanent.

It was, however, while the deficit still recurred annually that the proposal to which I have referred was made. It was suggested by the necessity that existed for undertaking another great enterprise.

Throughout Canada there is a strong desire for a fast Transatlantic service equal to the best enjoyed by

American ports. Several large and prosperous Canadian steamship companies are engaged in the St. Lawrence trade, and there is a large fleet of ships, but none of the existing Canadian lines is fully up to the highest standard of modern requirements; the best of them has not built a new ship for more than ten years. Yet the Canadian route is much the shortest across the Atlantic; its connexions with every part of the continent from Halifax, Quebec, and Montreal are now complete; an adequate service would revolutionize postal communication and promote the carriage of perishable products; it would attract a flood of British and American travel. The St. Lawrence presents by far the most magnificent approach to the American continent, and for two or three days of the passage gives the quiet of inland navigation in place of the open sea. It is estimated, on apparently trustworthy calculations, that by this route a traveller could be landed or a letter delivered as far west as Chicago as soon as they can reach New York by existing lines. At present, in nine cases out of ten, time is saved by sending a letter from Britain to Canada by way of New York, and the longer route presents the same advantage to passengers. Considerations such as these have led the Canadian Government to offer a large subsidy for the encouragement of such a line. Various offers have been received, but up to 1892 none had been entirely satisfactory. Meanwhile, the Canadian Pacific, having completed its connexions with the Pacific coast, Japan, China, and Australasia, finds that the Transatlantic

connexion is necessary to the perfection of its system. Already it makes a special business at all its offices of issuing tickets for the journey round the world—itself carrying passengers in its own cars and boats from Halifax to Hong-Kong—no small section of the whole circumference. To secure a full share of the tide of travel to and from the East and Australasia especially it must be able to guarantee close connexion with a first-class steamboat service across the Atlantic. This it is now unable to do. In 1892 the president informally proposed to start without subsidy an Atlantic steamship service up to the highest modern standard, on condition that the Intercolonial Railway be handed over to his company's control.

In the possibilities which the company saw of developing industries, tourist travel, and traffic in the maritime provinces, and thus making the Intercolonial a paying concern, and in the advantage which the Transatlantic connexion would be to the system as a whole, it found an offset to the great expenditure of capital and probable initial deficiency of revenue in working a first-class steamship line.

This proposition met with a good deal of favour in Ontario, where it was urged that the Dominion would save at once the amount of the Intercolonial deficit and the steamship subsidy, in all nearly a million and a half dollars. Satisfaction was expressed by many also at the prospect of thus getting rid of the Government railway, which had so often proved a disturbing element in Federal politics. The proposal, on the other

hand, provoked much opposition in the maritime provinces, where it was criticized as a violation of the Confederation agreement, and as giving the railway company, already influential enough, a hold on the Dominion from coast to coast which is not consistent with the security of public interests.

This dread of railway monopoly is natural, and yet it is just possible that it was exaggerated here, as I think it was in Manitoba. I must confess that after observing how much energetic management on the part of the company had done to stimulate industries in the West, one would like to see the same energy trying to arouse the maritime provinces from a certain apathy and slowness of movement which has marked them during the past few years.

The danger of abuse might have been guarded against, one would think, by provision for resumption with compensation, after a number of years, if the arrangement did not prove satisfactory.

Opposition was too strong, however; the scheme has been for the present abandoned, and efforts are being made to secure the fast steamship line by means of an independent company. Still it is a noteworthy fact, in its bearing on the much disputed question of the respective advantages of state-owned and private railways, that Canadian opinion seemed for a moment to waver on the advisability of handing over as a free gift to a private company, a railway on which the country had spent nearly $60,000,000.

There is no doubt that the railway company, from

its extensive connexions, would have been better able to make the new line a great success than any company working independently of these connexions. While the indications are hopeful, it remains to be proved whether any other company can be found to undertake the work on the scale which the Canadian Government requires and the circumstances render necessary.

The time is not far distant when the company will practically control 10,000 miles of railway on the American continent, and be in easy touch with all the main centres of population. The advantage given by such a connexion for a steamship line offering the shortest possible voyage across the Atlantic is incalculable. It would probably pay such a system to run the steamships at a loss.

Meanwhile the Canadian Pacific has undertaken to give its hearty support to any company which undertakes to establish the fast Atlantic service. It may well do so, for until such a line is in operation, it cannot reap the full benefit of its splendid position on the American continent, and its connexion across the Pacific.

Of the efficiency of the Canadian Pacific as a route to be used for naval and military purposes there can be no question. It has taken its place as carrying on regularly a portion of the trooping service of the Empire, by transferring men-of-war crews to and fro between the Atlantic and Pacific. The trains which carry them are equipped with "colonist" sleeping-cars, each accommodating about sixty men in comfort day

and night; a first-class sleeper for officers; a kitchen-car in which cooking can be done for several hundred men, besides transport for baggage, provisions, &c. The immense plant of the company would give a power of multiplying such trains indefinitely if the necessity arose for the transfer of large bodies of men. The use of this new route has made it possible to reinforce a squadron at Vancouver from Great Britain in fourteen or fifteen days, and the Chinese squadron in about twenty-five days, a great contrast to the long voyage round Cape Horn, or by way of the Suez Canal. I had the opportunity of travelling for some time with a detachment of sailors crossing from Vancouver to Halifax. The enjoyment of the trip by the sailors was manifest. The meals must have been better than any to which they were accustomed on shipboard. The travelling comforts provided for men and officers apparently left nothing to be desired. Discipline, too, was admirably maintained, and Jack, after his six days' run over the Rockies, across the vast prairies, and through the settled provinces of Eastern Canada, probably went on shipboard again with a new conception of the greatness of the Empire which he defends. There is no reason why the line should not be utilized for soldiers as well as sailors. A regiment stationed at Hong-Kong could be relieved by one from Halifax with ease and speed. To effect such a movement of troops would furnish an interesting illustration to the world of the new independence which the Empire has acquired of old routes of communication.

I was told on high military authority that the somewhat greater cost of mixed land and sea transport, and the want of any system of moving regiments framed in view of using this route, are at present obstacles to such a demonstration. But it is something to know that in time of war the empire has this additional resource.

The contingency of serious snow-blockade, once dwelt upon by hostile critics, may be dismissed to the realms of imagination. A prominent and responsible official has stated that from the opening of the whole line in 1886-7 up to November, 1892, not a single day had been missed in making connexion across the continent from Montreal to Vancouver. During that period all the American lines have been blocked, in some cases for weeks at a time. It is even claimed that the English Great Western has lost more time by snow-blockade since 1887 than has the Canadian Pacific. An exceptional season may, of course, create a difficulty, but what has been said shows that snow-blockade need not enter into ordinary practical consideration in speaking of the road. The triumph of engineering skill and of watchfulness in effecting such a result is very striking. On the other hand, the floods in the Fraser River during the spring of 1894, great beyond all precedent since that stream was known, broke the communication for several days, put the company to vast expense, and proved how great are the risks involved in maintaining a railway line through a wide range of mountainous country. On the

subsidence of the floods repairs were effected and communication resumed with remarkable rapidity.

We see, then, that, both in its influence on the development of the Dominion and in its character as an important route of Imperial communication, the Canadian Pacific Railway has become a line of great national significance, a significance which is likely to increase as time goes on. It must always hold an important place in all discussions of Canada's permanent relation to the Empire. Such a consideration justifies serious study of the problems connected with its position; it excludes either laudation or criticism not founded on prolonged examination of very complicated conditions.

CHAPTER IV

COAL

It has been pointed out before, but cannot be pointed out too often, that the coal deposits of Canada make her relation to the maritime position of the Empire one of extraordinary interest. This is true, whether we have regard to the needs of commerce or to the maintenance of naval power. When a large proportion of the world's trade is carried in steamships, and when every effective ship of war that defends trade is propelled by steam, easy access to coal at essential points becomes a matter of the first consequence. This is true in times of peace, but infinitely more so in times of war, when coal for naval purposes can be obtained by belligerents only in ports under their own flag. It is generally admitted that in any future struggle for maritime supremacy an immense advantage would lie with the Power which can retain the widest control of bases of coal supply. It is this idea which prompts our large national expenditure on coaling stations; it is, perhaps, less thought of in connexion with territories possessing coal deposits.

Certainly the points at which Canada's great coal-fields are found may be spoken of emphatically as essential. Eastward and westward, on the Atlantic and on the Pacific, their location is striking enough.

Nova Scotia projects far out into the Atlantic, and there, at the most northern port on the continent which is open both summer and winter, we have fixed the great naval station of Halifax, which in time of war would necessarily be our chief base for defending what has become the greatest food route of the United Kingdom. Immediately behind Halifax and closely connected with it by rail are the Pictou and other Nova Scotian coal mines, which already turn out about a million tons of coal per annum. Further north is the island of Cape Breton. A century and a half ago, long before steam came into use, the keen eye of French soldiers fixed upon Louisburg in Cape Breton as the point from which the road to the St. Lawrence could best be guarded and French commercial interests maintained upon the mainland. The strong fortress is gone, but around the fine harbours of the island are numerous mines far more useful than was the fortress for the prosecution of commerce or, in case of emergency, for its defence. From these mines, again, are raised yearly about a million tons of coal of excellent quality for steaming and other purposes. The mouths of the pits are in some cases close to the shore, and as the mines are carried far out under the ocean a ship may be loading directly over the spot from which the coal is

obtained. Nature could scarcely have done more to give an advantageous position.

Great activity has been given to mining operations in Cape Breton by the formation in 1892-3 of a powerful syndicate of American and Canadian capitalists to work one of the largest and most important groups of mines. The predominant influence in the company is American, and the action of the Nova Scotian provincial government in granting a ninety years' lease of the coaling privileges to a body chiefly composed of foreigners was at first subjected to a good deal of criticism from a national point of view.

It now seems to be clear that the transaction had no political significance, and that the combination was made entirely as a commercial speculation.

The application of abundant capital under the vigorous direction of the syndicate is an unmixed good, while the existence of other mines in the Sydney district uncontrolled by the new company will probably act as a permanent hindrance to the creation of a dangerous monopoly.

Large deposits of coal are also known to exist on the eastern side of the island, and the development of new mines here will in time enlarge the area of independent production. The lowering of the duty imposed on coal by the McKinley tariff will to some extent influence the prospects of coal mining in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton; the entire abolition of the duty, which seems probable within the next few years, will affect the industry profoundly. The consumption of coal in the

New England states alone amounts annually to about 11,000,000 tons, and free competition for this market must have the effect of greatly stimulating Canadian production.

The coal measures of this eastern portion of Cape Breton have been carefully explored, and their extent determined with considerable accuracy. It is somewhat important to note that they stretch directly along the coast from the north side of Sydney harbour southward in the direction of Louisburg for no less than twenty-five miles. From the shore they do not extend more than about four miles inland. The dip of the seams appears to indicate that they go nearly as far out under the sea, and in one case the galleries have already been carried out between one and two miles, while leases are taken to cover a distance of three miles seaward. The coal is shipped at three different harbours along this coast line of twenty-five miles, and preparations are being made for shipping it at a fourth.

The peculiar position of the mines thus lying along a lengthened coast line would make their protection in time of war by land defences a difficult and very expensive undertaking. It would probably be effected more easily by ships of war stationed in the neighbourhood. Yet their defence would be a necessity if the maritime superiority which they give is to be maintained.

At present the harbours in use are practically closed to navigation by ice, from the beginning of the year till May. To secure a port for winter shipment a railroad is now (1894) being built to Louisburg, and the com-

mercial activity of the ancient town will soon be revived.

With the exception of two or three weeks, when it is liable to some slight obstruction from drift ice, the harbour of Louisburg is open all the year round. It is so situated as to be easily protected, and could readily be changed into a defended coaling station.

The full significance of these coal resources to a great maritime Power can only be fully understood when we reflect—first, that the importance of the St. Lawrence as a food route is fast increasing; and, secondly, that, with the exception of what might be temporarily stored at Bermuda and the West India stations, these are the only coal supplies to which British ships would have the national right of access in time of war along the whole Atlantic coast of America. As things now stand, Britain is the only Power which has adequate bases of coal supply on both sides of the Atlantic.

These supplies are, of course, as useful for inland traffic as for ocean service. Nova Scotian coal finds its way in large quantities several hundred miles westward from the Atlantic coast, and supplies the provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec with the greater part of what they consume. During the summer it has a water route up the St. Lawrence, and it is also carried by the Intercolonial Railway at exceptionally low rates; in accordance with the Government policy of giving all possible encouragement to inter-provincial trade.

The consumption of Nova Scotian coal in Quebec

which in 1877 amounted to 95,000 tons, had risen in 1891 to 775,000 tons. The whole of the Dominion Government Railways, of which 1,397 miles are in operation, are worked with Nova Scotian coal. Most of the other railways of the lower provinces, including the Atlantic connexion of the Canadian Pacific, as far west as Montreal, draw their supplies from the same source. New Brunswick also has bituminous coal, but the only seam yet discovered of sufficient thickness to work is one at Grand Lake, which gives a supply for local consumption, but does not add greatly to the product of the country. An attempt is now being made to enlarge the output, and to use the coal for smelting purposes. In Albert County a large quantity of a peculiar and exceedingly valuable coal, known to science as albertite, has been mined in past years. The known deposits have been worked out with great profit to their owners, but there are many indications that other mines remain to be discovered. Cannel coal of great richness is also found in abundance in this county, and awaits development.

When we cross the continent to the Pacific coast we find, in connexion with the coal of British Columbia, a group of facts scarcely less striking than those to which reference has already been made. Along the whole Pacific coast of South America no coal is found suited for steaming purposes. There is none along the coast of North America until we come to Puget Sound. At different points on the Sound mines are being worked on American territory, but the coal is all of a distinctly

inferior quality. It is only when we cross the boundary line into Canadian territory that in Vancouver Island, the site of Britain's only naval station on the western coast of America, we meet with large deposits of good steaming coal. The superiority of this coal is proved beyond question by the published tables of the War Department of the United States, in which are given the comparative values for steam-raising purposes of the various fuels found on the Pacific coast. In this statement—certainly not a partial one—the Nanaimo coal is rated far above any found in Washington, Oregon, or California. The annual output of the mines at Nanaimo and Wellington has now risen beyond a million tons. At Nanaimo the principal mine is directly upon the shore, and the galleries are being run out far under the arm of the sea which divides Vancouver Island from the mainland, so that here, as at Cape Breton, ships of heavy tonnage take in coal while moored immediately over the place from which it is obtained. In either case the facility for easy and rapid coaling could not well be excelled. The very facility of approach creates a responsibility. When ships can sail in from the open sea and come directly to the place where large stores of coal are ordinarily accumulated, it is clear that these stores must have some means of defence if they are not to fall into the hands of the first comer. The full appreciation of the value of these coaling positions ought to secure for them some adequate defence, and this they do not at present possess. Canada is now co-operating with Britain in providing adequate defence for the

naval station of Esquimalt, the importance of which was well illustrated when I was there by the presence in the fine graving dock of a man of war, undergoing repairs after a serious mishap. Doubtless Esquimalt must be the main reliance for the safety of the fleet in the North Pacific, but some subsidiary protection seems imperative for the security of actual coaling ports like Nanaimo, if they are to be safe against sudden attack. Full and joint provision for this may only be possible when the motherland and the colonies have arrived at a clear understanding in regard to the distribution of national responsibility. The defence, however, ought certainly to be given, and it would be wiser to plan carefully and completely in time of peace for what would of necessity have to be supplied hastily under the pressure of any threat of war. Such a question would be fair matter for deliberation and decision at the colonial conferences of the future.

A fact may here be mentioned which illustrates by contrast the singular advantage which the Empire possesses from the command of abundant coal on the Pacific. The great American city of San Francisco, with its extensive shipping and railway connexions, draws its chief supplies of good coal from three British sources—Vancouver, New South Wales, and Great Britain itself. Curiously enough the two distant points compete in furnishing this coal on practically equal terms with Vancouver, which is close at hand. Ships chartered to carry wheat from the Pacific coast to Europe from want of a return cargo use coal as ballast

in voyaging from England or Australia, and are therefore able to deliver it in San Francisco almost as cheaply as it is brought from Vancouver. During the year 1892 San Francisco took about 600,000 tons of Vancouver coal. The American steamship lines to China and Australia use it almost exclusively. It goes to the Sandwich Islands, to Mexico, and many other points on the Pacific, a circumstance which indicates how much Canada's stake on that ocean is increasing.

Another suggestive fact should be mentioned. The American cruisers employed in guarding the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea have taken the larger part of their coal supplies from Vancouver. The manager of the principal mining company at Nanaimo told me that he had thus, in a single year, sent 5,000 tons to the Behring Sea for the use of American ships. The British cruisers were at the same time using Welsh coal, to which the preference was given, not from any superiority in steaming qualities, but because it was a smokeless coal and cleaner. The Admiral stated that he could see American ships several miles further than they could see him. The advantage of such a coal in time of war is obvious, but in war time the only coal obtainable would probably be that near at hand. I shall have occasion, however, to speak of smokeless coal again.

The Vancouver mines furnish the Canadian Pacific Company with fuel for their fast steamship service to China and Japan and for their railway service to the summit of the Rockies. Without these mines the Transcontinental Railway and its ocean connections—

in other words, the new postal, commercial, and military route to the East, would scarcely be an accomplished fact. In the West, then, as well as the East, on the Pacific as on the Atlantic, Canada's coal measures are so placed as to give the greatest possible advantage for external and internal communication; for the prosecution of commerce in times of peace, and for its defence in time of war. And surely vast coal measures lying behind defended or defensible ports must be of more permanent worth than mere coaling stations which have to draw all their supplies across wide seas.

We may now consider how the coal supplies of the coast are supplemented by those of the interior.

An important coal area has lately been opened up in the Rocky Mountain district. A few miles from Banff, and scarcely a hundred yards from the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, a mine of anthracite coal is being worked. Many outcrops of the same deposit are found northward and southward along the line of the Rockies in British Columbia. It represents, I believe, the only true anthracite coal which has yet been found, or, at any rate, worked, in America westward of Pennsylvania. It contains a larger amount of fixed carbon than the Pennsylvanian coal, burns rather more rapidly, and gives out a greater heat. On account of the peculiar excellence of the coal, the development of this mine has been watched with much interest. The chief difficulty has arisen from the lack of a sufficient market within a reasonable distance. The coal is used exclusively by

the Canadian Pacific Railway in heating its cars as far eastward as Lake Superior. For domestic purposes it is sold as far eastward as Winnipeg, taking the place of Pennsylvanian coal brought up the Lakes, and westward as far as Vancouver. It would be much more extensively used but for the fact that stoves and furnaces generally throughout the country are adapted to the use of soft bituminous coal, and the class of people willing to change their appliances and pay a higher price for a superior coal is limited. There has hitherto been little sale for the refuse coal or slack, which, in the neighbourhood of large manufacturing centres in England or Pennsylvania, adds so much to the profits of the mine-owner. Use is now being found for it in working electrical machinery, and this field is enlarging in the West.

At Canmore, only ten miles distant from the anthracite mine, the Rocky Mountain deposits furnish a coal of a different quality. The mines have not long been opened, and their extent has not yet been fully determined, but the coal has been found to be almost smokeless, and has the further quality of coking well. Both these facts are of the utmost interest, as the one suggests the possibility of our ships of war in the Pacific being supplied near at hand with the smokeless coal at present obtained from Wales, while the silver mines now opening up in the Kootenay districts, as well as those on the other side of the national boundary, create a large demand for coke to be used in smelting. An adequate supply of coke, indeed, is almost essential to

the fullest and most successful operation of the mining industries of British Columbia.[1]

Further south along the range of the Rockies, once more, at the Crow's Nest Pass, other outcrops of a remarkable thickness and good quality have been discovered. As there is at present no railway connection to this point, and as the country around is comparatively unsettled, there has been no inducement to work these deposits, which await the advance of civilization. But it is through the Crow's Nest Pass that an easier access to the Kootenay country will ultimately be sought, and the Canadian Pacific Railway is even now feeling its way in this direction, having made surveys with a view to the early construction of a line.

Thus the coal mines of the Rocky Mountains promise to supply what is lacking in the quality of those of the Pacific coast and those of the prairies. They give completeness to the means of transcontinental carriage. With abundant coal on the Pacific coast, on the eastern

[1] Since this paragraph was written I have had the opportunity of observing some further facts of importance in connection with coke production in Canada. Two years ago, at Nanaimo, Mr. Robins mentioned to me the probability that German methods of treatment would be applied to overcome the lack of good coking coal in the Dominion. During the last year, in confirmation of this opinion, an extensive plant has been erected in connection with the iron works of New Glasgow in Nova Scotia, and the production of what appears to be excellent coke is being carried on with complete success. The operation consists in crushing the coal almost to powder, and then, before it is put into the retorts, washing out the earthy and other material which, as taken from the mine, diminish its coking qualities. The results seem to be quite satisfactory.

slope of the Rockies, and in the heart of the prairies, railways have an easy command of fuel as far eastward as Lake Superior, where water carriage begins. Of the coal areas of the prairies, however, I have not as yet spoken.

In a country mainly treeless and with a cold winter season the existence of coal decides the question of settlement, or at least of dense settlement. This consideration for some time seemed to hold the destiny of the Canadian North-West in the balance. Along the river beds and in the rougher undulating country there was wood sufficient for the purposes of the early settlers, but it was evident that any increase of population on the plains would soon exhaust these limited supplies. In many districts it has already done so. Coal, therefore, has always been essential to the permanent success of the North-West. Fortunately, vast beds have been discovered, equal apparently to any necessities of future population. It is of varying quality. The Galt mines at Lethbridge are the most important of those yet opened. The product is a good bituminous coal, excellent for railway use, and giving the farmer a not too expensive fuel. The seam now being worked is between 5 feet and 6 feet thick, and is only 30 feet or 40 feet beneath the surface of the prairie. The coal bed has already been traced to the West and North-West for many miles, and the company knows that it has a practically unlimited supply to draw upon. The present output of 800 or 900 tons a day could therefore be readily increased to meet any demand. In spite of the

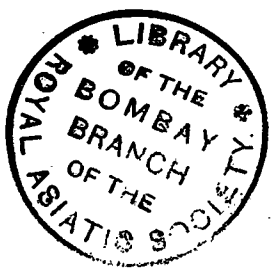
duty of 75 cents per ton, a considerable quantity of this coal was sent across the American border, as none equally good is easily obtainable from American sources. Should the duty be removed, the Lethbridge coal would find a large American market in the mining country to the south, while supplying all the needs of the surrounding prairie regions. The Lethbridge coal is used all along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway as far as Winnipeg, and even beyond to Port Arthur, where it begins to meet the competition of Pennsylvanian coal brought up the Lakes.

Eastward from Lethbridge, and reaching along the American boundary to the borders of Manitoba, are coal measures which have been estimated by Dr. Dawson to cover 15,000 square miles. The coal hitherto obtained is not of the best quality, and many of the seams consist mainly of lignite. They lie quite near the surface and are easily worked. In special localities the quality may improve. I visited the newly-opened mines at Estevan, about 325 miles from Winnipeg. The early product of the mines was not very satisfactory, as the coal, which looked well when it came out of the mine, crumbled after exposure to the air. Deeper mining is expected to produce better results. At the worst, however, Southern Manitoba and Assiniboia are assured of an abundance of cheap fuel, which will meet the necessities of the farming population. Outcrops are met with in many places, and as railways are pushed forward new mines will be opened.

When we go northward to the Saskatchewan a strik-

ing illustration of the abundance of coal in this district is furnished by the thick seams which are visible all along the banks of that river in the vicinity of Edmonton. A serviceable domestic coal is delivered in Edmonton and at most points in the country around for about 10*s.* per ton. A combine of the mines about the time I was there to raise the price to 13*s.* or 14*s.* per ton was met by a threat on the part of the consumers to mine their own coal, as numbers of the farmers could easily do on their own land. At this town, which seems from the distance of England to be on the very frontiers of civilization, it was interesting to observe that not only the streets, but the shops and private houses were brilliantly illuminated by the electric light cheaply obtained by the use of coal which can be mined almost at the door of the engine-room. The coal-beds of the Saskatchewan extend far down that river, and will in due time be reached by the railway, which is already extended to Prince Albert. We may, therefore, say that the whole great central prairie region of North Western Canada is encompassed by accessible deposits of fairly good coal. Still further northwards they have been explored far into the valley of the Peace river, where they await and make possible the advance of settlement. It seems scarcely necessary to draw the conclusions suggested by this statement of Canada's supplies of coal, and especially of those on the eastern and western coasts, directly connected with the maritime position of the Empire. People who talk lightly of the possibility of Canada's becoming independent or of her

annexation to the United States, by either of which changes her ports and her supplies of coal would become closed to British ships in times of war, have reflected little upon the conditions which determine national safety, under modern naval arrangements, for a great commercial people. When we estimate the commercial stake which British people have upon the North Atlantic and upon the Pacific, and when we consider that the power of the strongest ship of war to defend commerce is strictly limited by its coal endurance, it would seem probable that the Dominion may yet come to be regarded as almost the keystone of the nation's naval position.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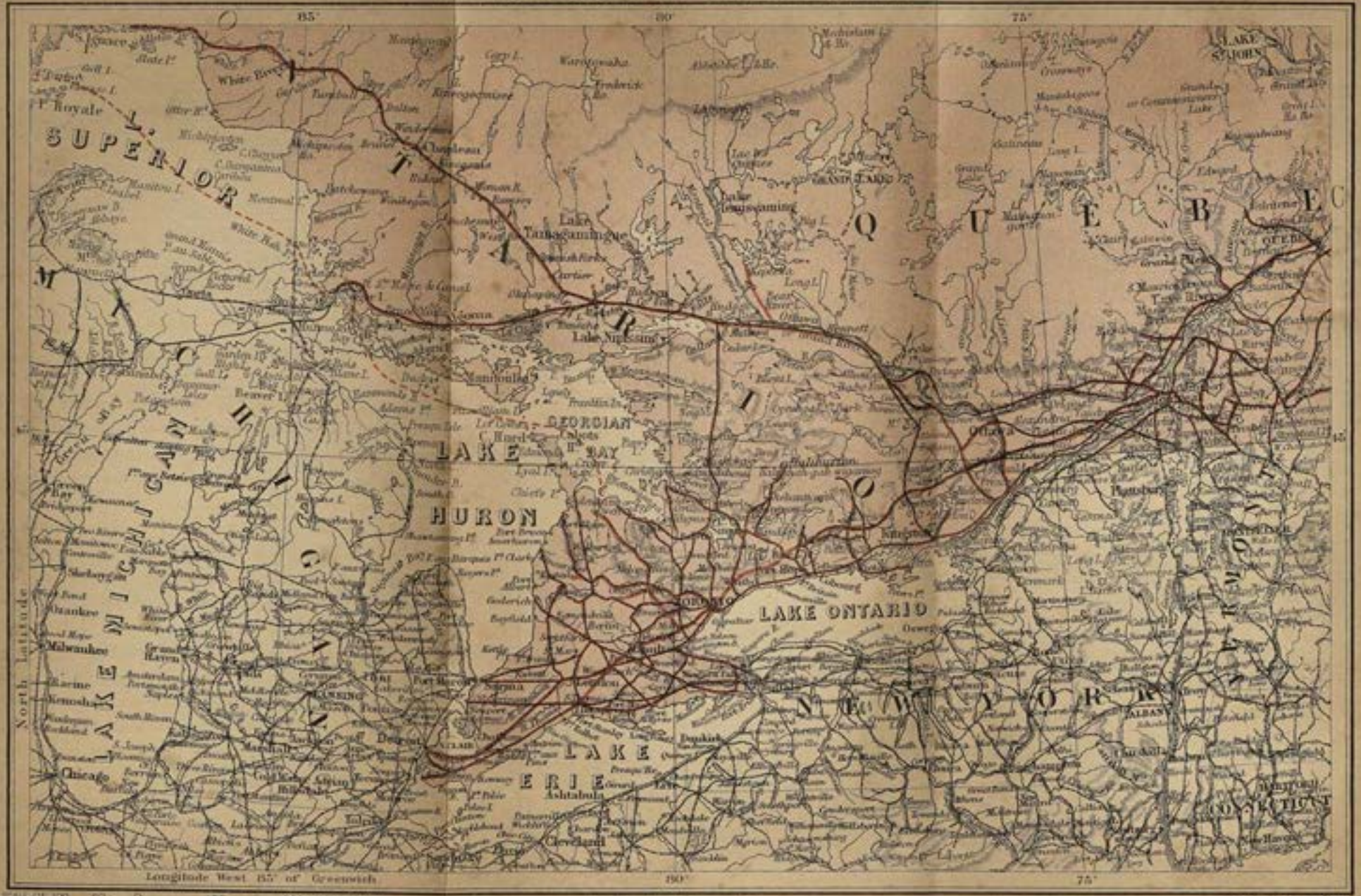

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CHAPTER V

EASTERN CANADA

Ontario and the Maritime Provinces

I BEGAN these studies of Canada by consideration of the North-West, as presenting one of the most interesting and critical problems in the development of the Dominion. But it must constantly be remembered that, after all, the brains and pith and marrow of the country are still in the Eastern Provinces; that these are still the centre of political force, of the country's progress, wealth, and culture, of those decisive characteristics which have given Canada its strong individuality, and will, for many years to come, chiefly mould its future; that, in fact, the North-West is but a yesterday's offshoot and creation of the sturdy life which has been steadily growing up for a long time in the East. It would therefore leave quite a wrong impression on readers in other parts of the Empire to lay the emphasis, in discussing Canada's affairs, on the West, to the exclusion of the East. A precisely opposite course would at the present moment be more just. The great

possibilities of the prairie country have impressed the imagination of people at a distance, and have made it, during the last few years, rather unduly overshadow the older provinces of which I am now to speak. As far as political and social power go these latter still constitute by far the greater part of Canada. Of eighty members of the Dominion Senate, seventy-two come from the east and but eight from the west of Lake Superior. In the House of Commons the proportion is 200 to fifteen, while of the Western representatives themselves, excluding those of British Columbia, a large majority were born and bred in the East. These figures will enable the reader to form in his own mind some fair balance of the relative present proportions and influence of the two sections of the country.

Nor must it be thought that the developments of the future belong to the West alone. All the Eastern Provinces still have large unoccupied areas, while their resources are much more varied than those of the somewhat monotonous West. Eastern Canada is a country of seacoast, islands, peninsulas, great rivers, and lakes; of splendid fisheries; of varied scenery and climate; of coal, timber, iron, and gold; precisely that combination of condition and resources which history has proved most favourable to human progress.

Of the provinces, Ontario is by far the greatest and wealthiest, at present containing well nigh one half the population of the whole Dominion, and with great possibilities of future growth. Bounded by three great lakes, Ontario, Erie, and Huron, and by three great

rivers, the St. Lawrence, Detroit, and Ottawa, so that its position, though in the middle of the continent, is almost insular; equipped with a most complete railway system; having a climate which favours the growth in abundance of grapes, peaches, melons, maize and similar products in the south, and is singularly suited for wheat, barley, and all the hardier cereals further north; with petroleum and salt areas in the west, timber areas on Lake Huron, mineral deposits of great variety and extent on Lake Superior, the province seems almost unique in situation and resources for production and commerce of all kinds. Its future must be very great indeed, and whatever may be the growth of the West, Ontario will assuredly remain for a long time the centre of political and commercial energy in the Dominion. At least, if there is any lack of prosperity and influence, it will lie in the people themselves, not in their stars. British capital, which is content with secure investment at moderate rates of interest, is finding much employment in Ontario, and, under judicious management, may safely do so in much larger volume than at present.

It is not without some feeling of geographical surprise that one finds from a comparison of areas that this single Canadian province of Ontario is as large as the whole of the six New England States, together with New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Nor will its growth be considered slow, if we remember that in 1776, when these States were populous enough to bear the main brunt of the revolutionary war, Ontario was

practically an unexplored wilderness; while as late as 1835 the population, now nearly two millions and a half, numbered only three hundred thousand.

When it is remembered also that this growth of little more than half a century has not been made on a prairie soil, but that every one of its 25,000,000 cleared acres has involved hewing down a heavily wooded forest, the progress made seems surprising, and explains why the province has reared a hardy race of men.

The truth is that the southern and western districts of Ontario—those which lie between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, and those which are enclosed by the lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron—have almost everything that could recommend them as a place in which to make a home—a fertile soil, variety of production, a plentiful water supply, and a salubrious climate. I doubt if any mainly agricultural area of equal size in the world gives evidence of more uniform prosperity among the mass of the people than do the older portions of Ontario. I base the comparison on observation of the country around Toronto, Hamilton, Niagara, London, Woodstock, Ingersoll, St. Thomas, Guelph, Belleville and Kingston; and any one who takes the trouble to visit these places and study the surrounding districts will, I think, ratify the judgment.

Speaking generally, agricultural employment and products in Ontario are not unlike those of the United Kingdom; a warmer summer and drier autumn giving, in comparison, advantages in ripening fruit and harvesting grain; a colder winter presenting drawbacks

in the feeding of stock and for outdoor farm work. But there are districts with characteristics worthy of special note.

A visit to the Niagara Peninsula of Ontario, for instance, upsets many preconceived ideas about the Canadian climate and the range of Canadian production. It is the greatest fruit district of the Dominion. Could Louis the Fifteenth have seen it as it is to-day he would have understood that instead of the "few arpents of snow" which he thought, or affected to think, he was signing away when he ceded Canada to Britain, he was really handing over to English people one district, at least, which compared not unfavourably in soil and climate with the richest and sunniest parts of France. Grapes, peaches, melons, and tomatoes, which in England are ripened with difficulty when not under glass, are here raised in the greatest profusion in the open air.

As a consequence the markets of all the principal towns of Eastern Canada are in the season supplied with fruit in extraordinary abundance, and at a price which makes it not merely a luxury of the rich, but a part of the ordinary diet of the poor. When large baskets of delicious peaches and very good grapes are sold, as is constantly the case in the Toronto and Montreal markets, for between 40 and 60 cents (1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*), these fruits are evidently within the reach even of the ordinary working man.

The fruit growing industry of the Niagara district is already important, but a steadily widening market seems likely to give it a great expansion. Few parts of

Canada illustrate more fully the advantage which has come from the extension of the railway system of the Dominion.

The prairies of the North-West produce little or no fruit, and are never likely to minister much to their own wants in this respect.

Already many hundred tons of grapes, pears, tomatoes, &c., are shipped yearly from the country between Hamilton and Niagara to Winnipeg, whence it is distributed as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The growth of Western population will steadily increase the importance of this market. Eastward a market is found as far as Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, the latter of which, though an excellent apple region, does not favour the growth of grapes and peaches. Special daily fruit trains are run regularly during the autumn to Toronto and Montreal, and fruit transport forms at this season an important item in the receipts of the Grand Trunk and other lines. The business must be a profitable one, since it bears the express rate of $200 per car-load which is charged between Hamilton and Winnipeg. One would think that with good appliances for cold storage, grapes and tomatoes, at least, could be cheaply and profitably placed upon the English market.

I had heard that hopes were entertained of the Peninsula becoming a large wine producing area. There are, of course, many difficulties involved in producing wines of the best quality to compete with those of Europe, and, in addition to this, I was told by one of the largest

growers that it only paid to use the grapes for making wine when the price had fallen to what seemed a ridiculously low point; I think below a cent per pound. Under these conditions the growing demand for the grapes as a fruit must, one would think, check for a long time any attempts at wine production on a large scale.

Still a good deal of wine has already been made, and there are growers who take a much more hopeful view of the industry than that here stated. Their opinions may be based on a wider study of the facts than I could give to them. It is significant that a vigorous protest was made by the vine-growers of Ontario against the lately concluded French Treaty, providing for the freer introduction of light French wines. The protest was based on the rapid growth of vineyard culture, the extreme cheapness of production, and the hopes entertained of making the wine output a valuable adjunct of the general fruit business of the province.

Besides the expanding home market for more perishable fruits of which I have spoken, the export of apples from Ontario to Britain is very large. In favourable years it has amounted to four or five hundred thousand barrels and the quantity increases with improve facilities for transportation.

The success of the apple trade has in many cases been much lessened by want of care in selecting and packing fruit, but the Fruit Growers' Association, which publishes a useful monthly magazine and holds regular meetings for the discussion of all subjects connected

with the business, is now making resolute efforts at improvement in these particulars. A law has already been passed by the Dominion Parliament providing for the inspection of fruit. Unfortunately this inspection is voluntary only, and must be paid for by the dealer. The association aims at a general and compulsory inspection and grading carried out at the expense of the Government.

If the external appearance of the farms and farm-buildings furnishes a reliable indication of prosperity, the business of fruit-growing in the Niagara Peninsula is a profitable one. The opportunities seem equally good for orchards on a large or small scale. One which I visited near Grimsby contained about 100 acres, all in a high state of cultivation. Attention was about equally divided between peaches, pears, grapes, apples, plums, cherries, tomatoes and small fruit, such as currants, gooseberries and blackberries.

For men experienced in fruit culture, and with some capital, this district of Canada offers very distinct opportunities. Orchard land already planted is, of course, expensive, but I was told that plenty of land, as good as that which now produces the best results, could be got at a reasonable price. But every one with whom I discussed the question laid stress upon the necessity for experience. It is not a business at which any casual beginner can succeed.

In other districts of the province there are the best opportunities for mixed farming. Stock raising and dairying have of late years steadily taken the place of

wheat growing, once the farmer's chief reliance. The policy which has dictated the change is a wise one, for the relative depreciation of price in the case of cattle and cattle products has been slight as compared with that in cereals. It has been stated on good authority that throughout the period of agricultural depression, the exchange value of cheese and butter—that is, the amount of tea, sugar, manufactured goods, or other necessities which a given quantity of these products would purchase, has been as great as it ever was before.

The farmer of Ontario is beginning to find out that in producing wheat only he commits himself to the chances of competition not merely with the easily tilled expanses of the fertile prairie, but also with the poorly paid and poorly fed peasant of India, Russia, and South America. The higher form of product demands greater intelligence and expenditure of thought, but gives a larger and more reliable return.

Ontario supplies much the larger proportion of the cheese and live cattle which the Dominion sends to England, and now aims at increasing its output of butter, especially during the winter season, in alternation with the cheese making of the summer.

Ontario is the province also which has benefited most largely by the protective policy; manufactures of great importance have sprung up at many points. In agricultural implements, pianos and cabinet organs, sewing machines, carriages, furniture, and railway plant, the people of Ontario could now probably hold their own in

the markets of the world without protection. Large shipments of farming tools are now being made to Australia, the British manufacturer not yet having sufficiently learned the art, common to American and Canadian, of making tools which combine a maximum of strength with a minimum of weight, the special requirement of warm countries. The coarser forms of cotton manufacture have also advanced rapidly in Canada, but this centres chiefly in Montreal and the Lower Provinces, where the French population furnishes a cheap and steady supply of factory labour. The same is true of the sugar-refining industry, which has made immense strides under the national policy. Raw sugar is now admitted free of duty, and in this important poor man's luxury the Canadian is almost on a level with the British consumer, as he is on a higher level in respect of tea and coffee, which are untaxed. The "free breakfast table" has had much to do with reconciling the farmer and working man of Canada to a revenue system otherwise pressing heavily upon them.

Among the cities of Ontario, Toronto, the capital, tends to become the literary and intellectual centre of the Dominion, and almost the rival of Montreal in commercial prestige. Its population is close upon 200,000. The largest and most influential daily newspapers of the Dominion are published here; those of the larger city of Montreal being somewhat handicapped by appearing in the midst of a bi-lingual population. The state-supported University and the well-endowed collegiate institutions of several religious bodies adorn Toronto

with groups of fine buildings, and give it a considerable learned society.

The situation of the city immediately upon Lake Ontario mitigates the severity of inland summer heat. Boating clubs and yachting clubs around the harbour illustrate the tastes and amusements of the people, and explain the aquatic reputation of the place. By means of good steamboat connection across the lake, and of the electric railway, Niagara has been brought within the limit of a day's pleasant outing. On summer afternoons and evenings the populace streams across in cheap ferryboats to the Island which fronts the harbour, to enjoy the fresh breezes of the lake. In default of the sea shore, fashionable Toronto escapes, for outdoor life in holiday time, to the charming Muskoka Lake district, a hundred miles to the north, the numerous islands of which are becoming dotted with the huts, cottages or villas of its summer visitors.

Altogether Toronto has advantages which make it, among the cities of the Empire, a distinctly pleasant place in which to live. It has been ambitious, and like other ambitious communities has suffered in late years from over-speculation in real estate, and from building in advance of the actual wants of the population. But the lesson of moderation was quickly learned, and its prosperity has had no permanent check.

In sentiment Toronto is intensely British. The foundation of the place by United Empire Loyalists after the American Revolution, and the part which it has taken in various crises of Canadian history since

that time, sufficiently account for the peculiar strength of this feeling. The remark applies equally to much of Southern Ontario, which owes its early settlement chiefly to the Loyalist migration. In the war of 1812 its borders formed the chief line of attack and defence. Along them are found the battle-fields on which aggression was resisted, and security won for Canadian territory. Noble tradition has thus been added to original sentiment to form a persistent and active force which still profoundly influences the whole community.

Hamilton, beautifully situated on a bay at the head of Lake Ontario, with London and Woodstock further inland, are other towns of the province which derive a very marked prosperity chiefly from being the centres of splendid agricultural districts. Kingston, at the foot of Lake Ontario, has a history dating back to the early days of French occupation, and is now the seat of a flourishing University, and of the Military College of the Dominion.

Ottawa, the political capital of the Dominion, is also in Ontario. When selected in 1858 to be the seat of government, it was a remote and unimportant lumbering village, chosen as a compromise between the rival claims of Montreal, Quebec and Toronto. Since that time it has grown rapidly and has now 50,000 inhabitants. Canadians are proud, and with some reason, of the Parliament buildings. Favoured by a splendid site on a high bluff overlooking the Ottawa River and the Chaudière Falls, their architectural effect is distinctly imposing. The buildings are a monument to the fore-

sight of Sir John Macdonald. It was chiefly under his guidance that, years before confederation was an accomplished fact, construction was begun and continued with resolute reference to the future greatness of the country. Ottawa continues to be the centre of an extensive lumbering industry, and the saw-mills along the river, with the pulp-mills which utilise the refuse wood, are the main dependence of the labouring population. The outskirts of the city still indicate its recent origin, or perhaps the inability of municipal government to keep pace with the wants of a rapidly growing community. Possibly the perfection of the tram system which reaches out in all directions, driven, lighted, and in winter warmed with electricity obtained by utilising the Chaudière Falls, makes attention to suburban streets a secondary question. Many think that the American plan of making the seat of the general government an area exclusively under federal control might have been adopted with advantage at Ottawa.

Passing by the Province of Quebec for the present, as requiring individual treatment, I go on to the Maritime Provinces—New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island—where the population is practically homogeneous with that of Ontario. One geographical fact makes the relation of these provinces to the Dominion and to the Empire of the utmost significance. They contain the only good ports on the eastern coast of Canada open to navigation in all seasons of the year. As a harbour Halifax ranks among the best in the

world, as a naval station among the most important in the Empire. The whole British navy could float, with room to spare, at the splendid anchorage in Bedford Basin. The harbour is strongly fortified, the length and narrowness of the entrance channel making it singularly adapted to defence. When two or three more guns of the heaviest metal and most modern type have been placed in the casemates prepared for them, when a complete search-light system has been installed, and telegraphic and telephonic communication completed between the various forts and batteries, Halifax harbour will be practically unassailable. Those whose professional opinion is entitled to great weight complain of an incredible hesitation on the part of the authorities in adding these final touches which are necessary to give full effect to a position already so nearly impregnable. Halifax has direct cable connection with Bermuda, which stands only second to it in importance as a station for the North Atlantic Squadron. This Bermuda cable has been laid almost exclusively for strategic purposes, and under imperial subsidy. It should be extended at once to the West Indies, not merely to establish connection with the remaining stations at St. Lucia and Kingston, but for commercial reasons in which Canada, the West Indian Islands, and the mother country are alike interested. Telegraphic communication with the islands is now carried on entirely through the United States, and at heavy rates.

St. John, on the Bay of Fundy, stands next in im-

portance to Halifax. As a commercial port it has the advantage over the latter of saving two or three hundred miles of land carriage to the Western Provinces. The harbour has often been represented as difficult of access on account of fog, but reliable statistics seem to prove that there is no real ground for this opinion. St. John has an important commerce, and is likely to have more, but it is practically undefended. I know of no place of equal importance in any part of the empire which would in time of war be so entirely at the mercy of any one who chose to attack it. Halifax owes its defence to the imperial treasury; that of St. John—and the opportunity for either torpedo or battery defence is excellent—might well be undertaken by the Dominion Government.

There are several minor ports. It has already been pointed out that Louisburg in Cape Breton, long since fallen into decay, could easily be transformed, if necessary, into a well-defended coaling station.

The industrial position in the Maritime Provinces during the last fifteen or twenty years has been very peculiar. For a long time the chief industries, those which occupied the great mass of the population, were lumbering, shipbuilding, and fishing. The finest pine timber has now become partially exhausted. Spruce timber, which at present constitutes the principal export, grows on soil not very well suited for agriculture, reproduces itself rapidly if the forests are protected from fire, and will therefore remain a permanent industry, though not one capable of maintaining a large

population. Besides, the timber trade is very uncertain, and subject to serious fluctuations from variation of snowfall and flood, as well as from ordinary commercial competition.

The substitution of iron for wood in shipbuilding has had a disastrous effect upon several formerly prosperous communities. Places like St. John and Yarmouth, which twenty-five years ago had more tonnage afloat in proportion to population than any places of equal size in the world, have seen the carrying trade which brought them wealth gradually slipping away without the chance of recovery, and in the effort to maintain an almost hopeless contest many large shipping firms have come to grief.

The fishing and agricultural industries have been seriously affected by American legislation; in the case of agriculture chiefly from want of organisation among the people to meet new conditions.

All these circumstances have weighed heavily against the provinces. The destruction by fire in 1877 of nearly the whole city of St. John, and the consequent ruin, though in many cases delayed a few years, of leading commercial firms, made the situation worse. The city has shown remarkable elasticity in retrieving its losses, but the effects of such a blow long remain. The falling off of the West Indian trade left Halifax for a time without one of its chief means of support, but this is now again reviving. Once more, the opening of the prairies of the North-West has not only had the effect of carrying the tide of immigration almost entirely

westward past Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but has also drained away a proportion of the young and enterprising population. As a consequence the increase of population during the decade between 1881 and 1891 was very slight indeed. The facts which I have mentioned are quite sufficient to account for severe depression in any communities not having extraordinary energy. But there has been a lack, among the mass of the people, even of such energy and adaptability to changing conditions as might fairly have been expected. This is perfectly manifest to the observer who has the opportunity of making comparison with other communities, but would require too much space to discuss fully here. Partly a business fatalism, the offspring, I think, of long subjection to the incalculable chances of the lumber and fishing industries; partly careless habits of farm work induced by the same employments; partly the hope constantly indulged of help from some god's hand thrust out from the political machine; this, perhaps, embodies in the fewest possible words what one wishes to express. Surely nowhere in our wide British Empire, or in any other country, have so much talent, effort, and time been spent in trying to squeeze public and private prosperity out of politics as in the Maritime Provinces of Canada. The attempt has not succeeded; the provinces by the sea, though with most varied resources, remain comparatively poor, while Ontario grows increasingly rich, and Montreal begins to add up its long lists of millionaires. A high average of comfort widely prevails, but there are few examples of

the great business success often achieved in other parts of the Dominion.

But it must not be thought that the poorer provinces are without their compensations for the present or their hopes for the future. I am not sure that both are not such as fairly to balance the situation. If these provinces have not the prestige of wealth, they have the severer and, as some may think, the higher glory of moral influence and intellectual power. One of the most remarkable facts connected with the growth of federated Canada has been the influence—quite disproportionate to population—of the public men of the Maritime Provinces in the Councils of the Dominion. Ontario owed to Scotland Sir John Macdonald, George Brown, Alexander Mackenzie, and Sir Alexander Galt. Montreal also has drawn its merchant princes and organizers of industry chiefly from Scotland and England. The smaller provinces have bred their own men, and they need not be ashamed of the type. No doubt it was Sir John Macdonald's mind, with its Imperial turn of thought, which first fully grasped the idea of a United Canada as a part of a United Empire, but no one who knows the prejudices and problems he had to face believes that he could ever have realized his dream without having had at his back the political fighting energy of Sir Charles Tupper and the remarkable financial prudence and ability of Sir Leonard Tilley, the one a son of Nova Scotia, the other of New Brunswick. When the veteran Premier died, the first and second

choice for a successor, after the temporary leadership of Sir John Abbott, was from among Maritime Province men.

The late Premier of the Dominion, Sir John Thompson, the Minister of Marine in his Cabinet, Sir Hibbert Tupper, and the scientific specialist, Dr. Dawson, who contributed so much by their services to secure a favourable issue for the Behring Sea award —work which was warmly recognized by the Imperial Government—are all Maritime Province men. Those who know most of the conduct of the Halifax Fisheries Commission in 1877, the first great national arbitration won by Great Britain, are aware that success was largely due to the presentation of the British case by the late Mr. S. R. Thompson, the brilliant New Brunswick advocate. The present able Finance Minister, Hon. George E. Foster, is from the same province, as was the late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Dominion.

This range of influence is not confined to politics and law. Very singular it is to observe how these comparatively poor provinces, with their simple and sometimes rigorous conditions of life, are furnishing brains to other parts of the continent. Sir William Dawson the distinguished scientist and head of M'Gill College, Montreal; Principal Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston; Dr. Rand, President of the new M'Master University at Toronto; Dr. Bourinot, of Ottawa, the keen analyst and exponent of Federal Government; Dr. Schurman, President of Cornell University, New

York; Professor Simon Newcomb, of the Washington Observatory, admittedly one of the foremost astronomers of the world; Archbishop O'Brien, the most conspicuous figure of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Canada, are all from the same provinces. So are Charles Roberts and Bliss Carman, whose names as poets, well known in Canada and the United States, are also beginning to be known in England, and who, whatever estimate critics may ultimately put upon their work, are certainly genuine outgrowths of their native soil, and catch their inspirations from the conditions amid which they live. Professorships, editorial chairs, and the pulpits of all denominations, not only across the breadth of the Dominion from Quebec to Vancouver, but through the Eastern and Western States, are in a singularly large proportion supplied from the same source.

Britain herself owes no small debt to these Maritime Provinces. They gave her General Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, whose name will always be associated with one of the most brilliant episodes in our country's military history, as well as Sir Provo Wallis, whose memory is still fresh in the minds of English people. Inglis of Lucknow was the son of a Nova Scotian Bishop. Stairs, Robinson, and Mackay, the three brilliant Canadian youths who have laid down their lives for the Empire in Africa within the last two or three years, were all from the Maritime Provinces. Samuel Cunard, whose wise and far-sighted plans laid the foundations of what has long been the most

perfect steamship service in the world, and gave Great Britain the foremost place, which she has always retained, in this great field of national enterprise, worked out these plans in his native city of Halifax. A whole range of modern humorous literature took its rise from the fertile brain of Haliburton, the wise and witty Nova Scotian Judge. His friend Joseph Howe, with extraordinary prescience, anticipated by forty years nearly all that statesmen and thinkers are now saying about the unity of the Empire, and advocated it with a warmth of eloquence and power of statement as yet absolutely unmatched. The more serious work of Haliburton, too, embodies some of the earliest and best discussions of the same question, and the writings of these two men make it clear that in the remote province of Nova Scotia there existed half a century ago a foresight in national affairs not then found in the central councils of the Empire.

This is a long list, but it is worth going over. It is not at all clear that in the longer judgments of history the people of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island will be thought to have sufficient reason for envying the material prosperity of Ontario and the millionaires of Montreal.

But to me the business possibilities of these provinces in the future, given well-directed energy, enterprise, and thought, seem in the highest degree promising. Fisheries, coal mines, forests, gold-bearing quartz reefs, iron, gypsum, and lime deposits are all large and fairly remunerative fields of industry.

A good deal still remains to be done to improve the profits of the fisheries, by studying the requirements of the best markets.

The methods of curing fish are often inferior—the result, probably, of much trade with the negro population of the West Indies and other tropical countries, among whom the standard of quality is low.

Coal mines already do well, and will do better as the market widens. Iron presents greater difficulties. The iron ores of Nova Scotia are excellent in quality and unlimited in quantity. At New Glasgow, the chief centre of manufacture, they are in immediate proximity to coal and limestone, so that all the natural conditions seem most favourable. As iron is one of the highly protected industries of the Dominion, one studied the growth of the manufacture here with special interest. There is a considerable output of pig iron, and large steel works. The most striking energy and skill have been shown in the organization of the industry, but still there is lacking something to complete success.

One finds that the cheap water transport across the Atlantic, which hits the farmer in England so hard, equally hits the iron master in Canada, since iron can be conveyed from Glasgow to Montreal for a mere fraction of what it costs to carry it by rail from New Glasgow to the Upper Provinces; this cancels at once fully half the advantage derived from the protective tariff of ten dollars a ton. Water transport is available at New Glasgow also, but special

circumstances make carriage by rail necessary in most cases.

Iron, again, is a material which particularly requires a wide market for the cheapest production. The special machinery used is expensive, and almost as much is required to give a small finished output as a large one in any given line. Hence small orders are not filled with much profit.

The conclusion I formed was that though iron manufacture in Canada is not a failure, it is not yet a brilliant success. An immense production of iron and steel at cheap rates has been the result of protection in the United States, but that end has not yet been attained in the Dominion.

There was a prevalent opinion in the early days of Confederation that the Maritime Provinces were to become in manufacturing to the rest of Canada what New England has been to the West of the United States. That expectation has not been realized, and may be still remote. But there are other opportunities. The farming resources of these provinces have only as yet been tapped. Let the earnestness and common effort so long turned upon party politics be bent more fully upon agricultural improvement; let something better be substituted for the present careless, rough-and-ready methods of farming and marketing; let cheese and butter factories be established everywhere at intervals of a few miles, as in Ontario, over which the provinces have the greatest possible advantage in pasturage; let a thoroughly organized means of rapid transit with cold

storage be provided to England; let rigid inspection and grading of all products before shipping—apples, hay, butter, cheese, fish, poultry, eggs, &c.—be provided, and the people of the Maritime Provinces will awake to find out that they hold an almost unequalled position with relation to external markets. Better trade conditions are evidently soon coming with the United States. The Provinces will then stand practically midway between, and in easy sea communication with, the two richest purchasing communities of the world—one actually free to their products, and the other on the way to become so—communities which will be competing for their products, and are ready to pay the highest price for everything which is of the very best.

It has been said that the Maritime Provinces have special advantages over those of the St. Lawrence in pasturage. This is in large part due to the greater dampness of the climate caused by the vicinity of the sea and the mists borne in from the Gulf Stream, but partly to other conditions.

The rushing tides of the upper part of the Bay of Fundy carry in their waters a fine detritus with curiously fertilizing properties. For a considerable distance inland along the rivers which flow into the Bay from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, there have been formed by the deposit of this material large areas of marsh land of well nigh inexhaustible fertility. The broad marshes of Tantramar, Grand Pré, and other similar districts produce to-day the same luxuriant

crops of hay that they did when they were dyked, and so rescued from the sea a century and a half ago by the early Acadian settlers. Meanwhile they have received no fertilization save that which has come from an occasional overflow of the tide and a new deposit of the marsh mud. Scarcely inferior to these marshes are the intervalle lands found along the large rivers of New Brunswick. Prince Edward Island, again, has a soil of great natural fertility, while for agricultural purposes the island possesses a unique advantage in immense deposits of "mussel mud"—the decayed organic remains of various kinds of shell fish—which, in the course of centuries, has accumulated to a great depth in the bays and river mouths of the coast. Raised by dredging through the ice during the winter months and applied to the soil, this proves a most valuable fertilizer, and adds greatly to the productive capacity of the island.

As a fruit-growing country Nova Scotia stands only second to Ontario. The orchards of the Annapolis and Cornwallis valleys are famed far and wide, and the export of apples to both Britain and the United States has already grown to large proportions. In the interests of this industry a school of horticulture has been opened at Wolfville, under the auspices of the Nova Scotia government. For emigrants with a moderate amount of capital, willing to acquire some skill in horticulture, and aiming at a life of modest independence amid pleasant surroundings, I know of few places throughout the empire which would seem

more attractive than these picturesque orchard districts of Nova Scotia.

Of the Maritime Provinces generally it may be said that the climatic conditions are singularly favourable. Nearness to the sea mitigates alike the heat of summer and the cold of winter. The tide of tourist travel is now turning this way, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Bay of Fundy, with their cool breezes and beautiful scenery, promise to become one of the chief summer resorts of dwellers in the heated inland regions of America.

Although manufactures have increased much in the Dominion, agriculture is still, and will be, the mainstay of general prosperity in Eastern as well as Western Canada, in Ontario as well as in the Maritime Provinces. It still offers a sufficient opening for emigrants, but under very different circumstances from those of the West. The attraction of the prairies, the facility with which farms are created there, have during late years diverted emigration from the wooded Eastern Provinces. But a wooded farm has its very distinct advantages, although involving more preliminary labour. Plenty of timber for building and fencing, abundance of fuel close at hand, occupation during the winter season, shelter from the extreme severity of winter—all these are weighty considerations in fixing a home. Hardy working men, especially those accustomed to the use of an axe, or willing to acquire it, not afraid of a fourteen or fifteen hours day during the summer, balanced by the hope of greater

leisure in the winter, still have, in my opinion, an excellent opportunity to make comfortable homes for themselves and provide a healthy life for their families by taking up the unsettled woodland districts of Eastern Canada, where ungranted lands of excellent quality can still be obtained on easy terms. Railways have been so extensively built in all the provinces that nowhere will the settler be far removed from ready access to markets and civilization, and the severe privations and the isolation of the early pioneers of the country need not be undergone.

Such things are largely a matter of personal inclination, but I must confess, after much observation of the two sides of Canadian life, that the East would have for me the greater attraction. The nearness of the sea, the varied scenery and range of industry, the easier access to the best educational advantages, or to European and American markets and social centres, weigh heavily against what is the supreme advantage of the West—facility in the immediate creation of a farm.

To emigrants who may prefer to undertake to make a farm in the same way that all those of Eastern Canada have hitherto been made—that is, from forest land—there are still many opportunities. In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island most of the better land has already been taken up by settlers. In the northern part of New Brunswick, however, between and along the rivers Restigouche, Tobique and Miramichi, there are tracts containing some millions

of acres almost entirely unsettled and only partially explored, but known to contain large blocks of fertile land. As the good soil alternates with much of an inferior quality only suited for timber growth, great care should be used by the immigrant in getting competent and reliable advice before selecting a spot for his farm. It is to be feared that carelessness on the part of government in allowing people to settle on inferior soils has in the past done something to diminish that contentment which induces further immigration.

In the northern part of Ontario, again, there is another large area of still ungranted forest land which recent explorations have shown to be as well adapted for settlement as much of that which now constitutes the best farming lands of the province.

One hesitates about advising the old country emigrant to face this forest life. It is true that thousands have succeeded under like conditions before. But his ignorance of backwood arts handicaps him heavily, and it takes some time to acquire the easy use of the axe—the one implement upon which he must constantly depend. On the whole it is better that the pioneer work of such districts should be left to native settlers, while new comers should settle on farms partly cleared.

Besides the labouring man who looks forward to making a home by dint of sheer work, Eastern Canada offers very distinct opportunities to other classes of British people. First among these may be placed what

are known in England as tenant-farmers; men who would bring some capital, together with skill for agricultural work, to their new homes. A fair degree of flexibility in adapting themselves to new conditions of climate and farm management would seem to me all that is necessary to insure for such men reasonable and perhaps very considerable success, better on the whole than what is now easily gained in Great Britain. For settlers of this class the condition of things in the older provinces makes the present a favourable time for migration. Land values have decreased of late in Canada as in England, and it is easy to buy farms partly improved and with buildings on them at a reasonable rate.

I also think that people with a fixed income of from £200 to £400 a year, with simple habits and a liking for country life, and with families to bring up, would make their money go further and improve the prospects of their children by buying small and manageable places in many districts of the older parts of Canada. Near all the smaller provincial towns, Windsor, Amherst, Fredericton, Kingston, London, Woodstock, and a dozen others which might be mentioned, they would find many of the advantages of pleasant society, cheap education, and comfortable living to an extent which their money will not command in the crowded old country, and which they cannot obtain for years to come in the thinly-settled West.

The fact that there are partly improved farms to be bought cheaply in the East is no indication that these

farms are useless or cannot be made profitable. Everybody who knows America knows that the pioneer spirit sometimes runs through whole classes of society like a fever; it induces people to give up what is good on the mere hope of finding what is better; it leads them to despise the solid advantages of settled society for the uncertain chances of new regions. I remember in a visit to the American West, twenty-five years ago, hearing a Wisconsin farmer saying with all seriousness that he would not exchange a thousand acres of Western farm land for a whole township in the Eastern States, which were his old home. The sentiment was not peculiar; the whole Western atmosphere was full of it at the time. Yet the ordinary observer could see that it was clearly a mania; the choice of advantages was in reality very nicely balanced. A wave of like feeling has been passing over Eastern Canada during the last ten years—in the Maritime Provinces stimulated by the circumstances to which I have before referred; the men who go to the West may or may not find the success they look for; those who take their places, if men of moderate desires, may congratulate themselves on reaping solid advantage from the adventurous spirit of their predecessors.

To men with moderate capital, wishing to avail themselves of such opportunities as I have described, a word of counsel may be given. English experience does not furnish any reliable guide for buying land and stock in Canada, and emigrants of the class I speak of must take this into consideration. Two suggestions

for new-comers from Britain occur to me. One is the sharpening of their own wits a bit, before making their purchases. If a man with some capital who wants to settle in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Ontario, is in a position to engage himself quietly as a labourer for a year or so on a farm, keep his eyes open, and thus, while gaining experience, get a true idea of land and stock values in Canada, he would be in an excellent position to deal on fair terms; at any rate, he should spend some time in careful examination of the country before purchasing. A second method of more general application may be suggested, and I think it deserves careful consideration. The governments of the older provinces profess to be anxious to draw out settlers of the type I have referred to—tenant-farmers and others with a small capital. Let them appoint perfectly competent men in the various districts, to whom new-comers could be officially referred for sound advice on farm values, or even for arbitration if necessary. If the services of thoroughly reliable men could be secured this would give an assurance of fair treatment to the inexperienced, which does not now exist, and which is greatly required. As I have said in treating of the West, the contented settler is the best of all emigration agents, and I believe that this method of guarding against discontent is reasonable and practicable.

Something must still be said of the remarkable maritime position of Eastern Canada, and of what has been done to improve it. I have previously spoken of the great expenditure made by Canadians to get in

railway touch with their vast Western heritage. But railways are far from representing the full measure of their efforts in this direction. The canal system and the means taken to create it deserve study. No country in the world has such a marvellous system of natural inland navigation as Canada. After one has fairly entered Canadian waters at the Straits of Belleisle, there are still 2,259 miles of navigation to the head of Lake Superior, a distance slightly greater than the sea voyage from Liverpool to Belleisle. But at several places this line is broken by shallows, falls, or rapids, and to overcome these has been a work of no slight difficulty. It is not so many years since a large seagoing steamship could not ascend the St. Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal. The dredging of a channel through Lake St. Peter has changed all this, and so given Montreal her true position as the Liverpool of Canada. This very considerable undertaking has also made it possible for ironclads to ascend the river to the same port—a fact which I have not hitherto seen noted as a new element in the defensive conditions of the Empire.

In all it has been necessary to construct over seventy miles of canal, the rapids of the St. Lawrence, the peninsula through which the river Niagara flows, and the Sault Ste. Marie offering the chief points of obstruction. The 600 feet which represent the difference of level between the tidewater on the St. Lawrence and Lake Superior are overcome by no fewer than fifty-three locks. Canada has already spent upon

her canals nearly $60,000,000; their completion to an average depth of fourteen feet, so as to accommodate seagoing vessels, is now being pushed forward with much energy. A convention of business men, from Western Canada and the United States, has considered at Toronto the question of deepening them to twenty-one feet, and has passed resolutions urging the advisability of such a course. Montreal is naturally not enthusiastic about a project which would make Toronto and other points on the great Lakes ports for ocean-going vessels, and a scheme of such magnitude will take a good while to mature. That this canal system will in any case gradually become the outlet for an enormous traffic cannot be questioned. It is already very considerable. Nearly 1,000,000 tons of freight were moved in 1893 on the Welland Canal, between Lakes Erie and Ontario; as much more on the canals of the St. Lawrence; and 650,000 tons on those of the Ottawa. Although I had previously studied the figures, I must confess that the proportions which the commerce of the inland lakes of America has already assumed came to me, on actual examination, as a surprise. It is at the Sault Ste. Marie canal, the point of connection between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, that the volume of this traffic makes the most vivid impression upon the imagination. The single lock in operation there on the American side, when I visited the place, holds three or four large vessels or barges at a time. The ship in which we were to cross Lake Superior, one of the fine vessels of the Canadian

Pacific line, came to the foot of the canal, which is only about a mile long, at noon on Sunday. But, though the lock was filled and emptied as rapidly as possible all the rest of the afternoon, it was night before our turn came to enter, so great was the pressure of shipping. The work goes on by night as well as by day, and throughout the seven days of the week. The canal is open only about 220 days during the year, but during the last two seasons the shipping passing through it has exceeded by one or two million tons that which goes through the Suez Canal. After making allowance for the fact that the voyages are much shorter than those made by vessels using the Suez Canal, and the cargoes less valuable, enough remains to make this picture of water-borne commerce at the heart of the continent a very remarkable one. But its development, hitherto chiefly American, and on the south side of the lake, has only begun. Preparations on a large scale are being made for the vast expansion which is sure to come. On the American side a second and larger lock is being constructed, while on the northern side of the falls, a mile away, the Canadian Government has constructed a third, more capacious than either of the American ones, at an expense of between $3,000,000 and $4,000,000. I think that this lock is the largest in the world. It is 900 feet long, 60 feet wide, and 20 feet 3 inches deep. Now that it is completed there is a clear Canadian waterway for ships from Fort William to the Atlantic. American shipping already uses Canadian canals to the

extent of about 600,000 tons per annum. This canal system furnishes a striking proof of the prevailing eastward and westward trend of the trade. It is an equally striking proof of the community of trade interest between the East and the West. The large expenditure already made by the East to improve these waterways can only be fully compensated for by Eastern ports becoming the outlet towards Europe of Western products, the distributing points from which the West will receive its imports.

Further east, at the southern part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a remarkable enterprise, which it seems most natural to mention in connection with the canal system of Canada, and which is practically a part of it, has been brought almost to completion. In order to avoid the somewhat dangerous coast of Nova Scotia, and to save from 500 to 700 miles of navigation, a ship railway is being constructed, instead of the canal long thought of, across the Isthmus of Chignecto, to connect the navigation of the St. Lawrence with that of the Bay of Fundy. About $4,000,000 have now been spent upon this work, and to complete it an expenditure of about $1,500,000 more is required. When the works were nearing completion the operations were suspended as a result of the financial difficulties arising out of the Baring failure and the condition of affairs in Argentina, where the contractor for the railway was involved in very heavy engagements. But it is impossible to believe that so important an undertaking will be left unfinished after

A MAP OF
THE DOMINION OF CANADA
SHOWING THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.
ICELAND
GREENLAND
BAFFIN BAY
HUDSON BAY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEWFOUNDLAND
DOMINION OF CANADA
ALASKA
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN

so large an expenditure has already been incurred, and there is reason to believe that the work will soon be resumed. The inception and execution of the project furnish a remarkable example of courage in supporting a novel enterprise on the part of the Canadian Government, and of persevering energy on the part of the Canadian engineer, Mr. H. G. C. Ketchum, its projector. The idea of transporting laden ships over seventeen miles of railway from sea to sea was at first met with ridicule and incredulity. But Mr. Ketchum, by dint of hard argument, secured for his plans in succession the support and endorsement of the local communities, of the leading provincial journals, of the boards of trade in the neighbouring towns, and finally of the Dominion Parliament, which, after full discussion, voted a subsidy of something over $170,000 per annum for twenty years in support of the undertaking. Sir John Fowler and Sir Benjamin Baker, the distinguished English engineers, are now associated with him in responsibility for the satisfactory construction of the work. Finally, financiers and contractors were found to undertake its execution, and, though the latter have been temporarily embarrassed by a financial crisis almost without precedent, there is little doubt that the work will yet be completed. Without being able to bring to the subject the knowledge or judgment of an expert, I personally believe that the undertaking, backed as it is by the Dominion subsidy, will succeed, and will do much to develop the great resources in coal, timber, building stone, fish, and agri-

cultural produce of the Gulf districts especially, for which better trade relations with the States will open up a very large market in New England, while the Bay of Fundy ports will be put in easy touch with the West. But of this commercial aspect of the question it is for financiers and traders to judge. They have before them all the *data* by which the Dominion Parliament and other representative bodies were originally convinced of the merits of the undertaking.

It would seem that the railway might also be of great service, in case of necessity, for coast defence, through the facility it would give of transferring gunboats of moderate tonnage or torpedo-boats from one side of the isthmus to the other. I had an opportunity of looking over a portion of the line. The greater part of the roadway, the heavy stone work, and the excavations for the terminal docks are completed—in all, about three-fourths of the work, the whole presenting a remarkable example of solid construction, apparently quite equal to the heavy work the line will have to do.

It will be a striking fact if the completion and successful operation of this Canadian undertaking prove definitely the advantage, as its promoters claim it will do, of railway transportation for laden ships, since it cannot but profoundly affect opinion in regard to other even more important points of commercial transit.

I have dwelt upon these matters somewhat in detail, because I wish to show with what quiet but persistent energy and foresight Eastern Canada is supplementing

its great natural advantages, and laying broadly the basis of commercial expansion. When it is remembered that the Dominion, in addition to her vast expenditure on railways and canals for inland development, is also heavily subsidizing steamship routes to Japan and China, to the West Indies and to Australia, and that she is entering into engagements to support still more energetically a Transatlantic service of the first class, and a new Imperial cable system across the Pacific, I think a sufficient answer is given to Mr. Goldwin Smith when he claims that provincial feeling still dominates the public life of the Dominion.

CHAPTER VI

EASTERN CANADA.—*Continued*

Quebec

THE French Canadian question is the crux of politics in the Dominion. It does not present so many difficulties or arouse such bitter animosities as does the Irish question in Britain; it is not so impracticable as the race and colour questions which are clouding the national horizon in the United States; it does not even seem to me so perplexing as the questions which the contact of a temperate and tropical climate, and therefore of strong and weak races, is beginning to produce in Australia, but still it is difficult, and for a good while to come will test the temper, the tact, and the patriotism of the Canadian people, whether French or English.

In some of its aspects, however, there has been of late a tendency to exaggerate the magnitude of the question. People in England were so accustomed less than a generation ago to think of Canada as a country chiefly inhabited by Frenchmen, they were so con-

scious of the fact that the presence of a French element dominated all questions of Canadian policy, that the impression has scarcely yet died away. It is well, therefore, to form an accurate idea of the place which Quebec and the French Canadian hold and are likely to hold in the Dominion.

At the time of confederation in 1867, Quebec was one province among four; it is now, through the introduction of new provinces, but one among seven. But the work of carving out new provinces has only begun. Its representation in the Dominion House of Commons was fixed permanently at sixty-five, the proportion of this number to the population of the province being taken as a basis from which all other provincial representation should be calculated at each decennial census. These sixty-five representatives sat at first in a House of 181 members; under the automatic rule of expansion they now form part of a House of 215 members. Of these sixty-five members seventeen are at the present time English-speaking, and may be taken as fairly representative of the English population of the province. The strictly French vote of Quebec in the Federal Parliament may therefore be placed at about forty-eight.

Out of the whole population of the Dominion, which was 4,833,237 in 1891, 1,404,974 were French-speaking; of these 1,186,346 were in the Province of Quebec. These proportions, it will be seen, are weighty, but not dominant.

So much for the present. In forecasting the future

one or two main points must be kept in view. The first is that the French population of Canada is not reinforced from without. France, with her declining population, now sends very few emigrants abroad, and she sends them least of all to Quebec. In the whole province of Quebec there were found in 1891 only 2,883 persons who were born in France, and this number must have represented the migration for an entire generation.

On the other hand, the French Canadian has himself become an emigrant from his native country. In an article in the *Forum*, Louis Frechette, the French Canadian writer, estimates the number of his compatriots in the United States at between eleven and twelve hundred thousand. This estimate appears to be much exaggerated, but the number is certainly very great. An American estimate places the numbers in the six New England States alone at something over 300,000.

One qualifying feature of this exodus to New England is, however, to be noted. Numbers of the people do not go to remain. The Commissioner for the census of 1891 pointed out to me at Ottawa the remarkable fact that in the returns Quebec was often given as the birthplace of the elder children of a large French family, the United States as the birthplace of a succeeding group, to be followed again by others born in Quebec. The migration, therefore, is in part temporary, and the present inclination of the *habitant* is to gravitate back to his native soil.

This exodus is almost exclusively confined to the poorer and less educated population of the province; for the able, educated, and ambitious French Canadian the best field is still found at home among his own people and under the Canadian system, where he has a far better opportunity to win political, professional, or literary success. In the United States he could only succeed by using the English language and becoming entirely Americanized; in Canada he can succeed even while remaining a Frenchman; a moderate adaptation to English ideas opens freely to him all the avenues to power.

But, whatever qualification we give to it, a migration which has already advanced so far must profoundly affect the future of the French race in Canada, unless some change of industrial circumstances or of race feeling—and neither is impossible—should result in a refluent wave of movement on a corresponding scale. The tendency of the French Canadian both in Canada and the United States to drift into the cities and to become a factory operative, instead of the hardy and adventurous pioneer of Western civilization, such as he once was, is another element in the question; it is almost as significant as the change which has made France cease to be a colonizing power in the true sense of the expression. Had the whole tide of migration from Quebec been directed to the newly opened West instead of to New England the results must have been very considerable.

Again, it has commonly been supposed that the

natural increase amongst the French Canadians is far beyond that in the English provinces. Certainly the contrast between the large families commonly found among the devout, moral, and conservative French of Canada, and the strictly limited families which are the rule in France is striking enough, and furnishes a singular problem for the student of social or national evolution.

There are apparently few things which give to the *habitant* of Quebec such unalloyed satisfaction as to see himself surrounded by a numerous offspring, whatever the degree of comfort in which he may be able to maintain them. In this feeling he has, curiously enough, public support.

Three or four years ago the government of the province, reverting to the policy of the French Kings in the early days of Canadian colonization, instituted a system of premiums on large families, by offering to give a grant of a hundred acres of land to all heads of families who had twelve or more children. This grant has already been made in nearly 2,000 cases, and applications are said to be still flowing in. Families of twenty children are common; families of twenty-five or more are not unknown. But in spite of special facts like these the last Canadian census proved that the advantage in the natural rate of increase of Quebec over the other provinces was comparatively slight—in the case of Ontario it amounted to scarcely more than 1 per cent.

A higher death-rate, possibly arising from lower

conditions of life, in part neutralizes the higher birth-rate.

There is a still more important point to keep in mind. While Quebec is not reinforced from without, all the rest of Canada is being strengthened by a steady stream of people who, even when they come from the German, Scandinavian, and Latin countries of Europe, hasten to learn the English language, and within a generation or two become thoroughly Anglicised. In a previous chapter I have referred to a movement of pioneers from some districts of the United States towards the North-west of Canada. This migration alone, under the pressure of land hunger in the Western States, might easily grow to proportions which would add to the English speaking population of the North-West as much as is subtracted from that of Quebec by the exodus to New England. It is a significant circumstance that at the last census Ontario had 405,000 inhabitants returned as born in other countries and therefore representing the flow of immigration, while Quebec had only 82,000 or one-fifth as many of the same class.

All these facts—and they are mentioned only as facts—go to show that the relative weight of French Canada in the Dominion must steadily and perhaps rapidly decline. But though Quebec is thus becoming a secondary factor in Canadian development it presents problems which, as I have said, are perplexing.

To understand the situation, it must, in the first place, always be remembered that the Frenchman, so

far from being an alien in the country, is a Canadian of the Canadians. The love of the soil is burned into his very soul. He looks back to a long period in the early occupation of the country which the brilliant pen of Parkman has shown to present not merely the most picturesque page in the history of America, but one of the most picturesque in the history of the world. He underwent the greatest hardships in settling the country; he suffered and fought and died to keep it under the French flag. Since he was abandoned by France he has fought with even greater intrepidity and has died as heroically to keep his country under the British flag.

The many thousands of French Canadians who go to work in the mills and factories of New England the American looks upon as aliens—just as he looks upon the Italian or the Polish Jew—almost as he looks upon the Chinaman. A limited naturalization, which has made the French Canadian vote count in elections, may suggest modification of this statement; but it is still, in the main, true. In Canada, on the other hand, and, above all, in Quebec, the French Canadian is on his native heath. No sense or right of citizenship is stronger than his. His English fellow-subjects not only freely acknowledge this perfect equality of citizenship, but they even look upon him as a fellow-citizen who has special claims upon their consideration, in view of the anomalous position which he has so long held—that of a loyal citizen of an Empire to which he is not tied by either race or religion.

Nor can any just sense of irritation be connected with his British citizenship. It came as the result of a conflict honourable to both the parties engaged in it. It brought him a freedom of self-government he never knew before. It gave him a security for his religion which he could not have expected under the rule of France subsequent to the Revolution. It gave stability to his institutions which would have been out of the question had he been connected with a country which has passed since 1759 through many revolutions. It has left him free for more than a century to pursue his avocations in peace, while France has been desolated by internal convulsions and external attacks. From the first, or at least as soon as the necessity for military rule had disappeared, he has received a consideration very unusual in the case of countries won by arms. He now enjoys in the fullest sense and without any qualification all the rights of British citizenship, and in Quebec additional privileges altogether peculiar, conceded in deference to his sensitiveness in matters of language and religion.

All these circumstances have made a profound and, it may fairly be assumed, a permanent impression upon the mind of the great body of French Canadians. With all their most responsible and reflective men, loyalty to the British connection has long been a first tenet. Sir George Cartier described himself as an Englishman speaking French. Sir Etienne Taché emphasized the loyalty of his people by affirming that in any national conflict, it would be a French Canadian

who would fire the last shot in defence of the British flag in America. At Winnipeg, the late Archbishop Taché quoted to me his relative's words with the warmest approval and satisfaction. Throughout nearly the whole of the present century, the clergy of Quebec have uniformly looked upon British connection as the best guarantee of the secure position of themselves, their church, and their people. Their highest representatives have not hesitated to state this in formal ecclesiastical declarations.

English Canadians have certainly met these indications of a common loyalty with goodwill. If they have had at times some difficulty in working harmoniously with Englishmen speaking French, they are quite prepared, under favourable conditions, to go far with Frenchmen speaking English, or reasonably in sympathy with English ideas. Mr. Laurier has been for some years the leader of the Liberal Opposition in Parliament. It would to-day be possible for him, in any change of Government, to become Prime Minister with the loyal following of the Liberal party throughout the whole Dominion. But this is the first time in Canadian history that such a thing has been possible, and it is only now made possible by the fact that Mr. Laurier is English as well as French speaking, Liberal in the larger sense of the word, free from some of the most inveterate prejudices of his compatriots, and inspired by a patriotism which reaches far beyond Quebec.

And this, perhaps, brings us to the point where the line of difficulty and dangerous friction may be most

clearly discerned. Unfortunately, not all French Canadian leaders are responsible and moderate men. The Frenchman is a Canadian of the Canadians, but the Canada of to-day is not, as he sometimes seems to think, the Canada of Louis XV. Within the past few years, however, a persistent attempt has been made to narrow the French Canadian's patriotism to Quebec; to fill him with the idea that it is possible to create on the banks of the St. Lawrence something which, as pictured to him, is practically a separate French nationality in Canada; a nationality, too, which belongs to a past century rather than to the present.

The late Mr. Mercier was responsible for much of the marked development of this feeling which took place during the period of his political ascendency in Quebec. Mr. Mercier's power crumbled to pieces long before his death, but the ideas which he planted are not so easily got rid of, and, indeed, already had a favourable soil in which to grow. There are those who still affirm that he represented French Canadian aspirations more completely than any other man whom Quebec has produced. One of the most prominent of their public men once said to me that, as a matter of fact, a majority of French Canadians look forward to an exclusiveness on the American continent as complete both in race and religion as was ever that of the Hebrews. No one familiar with Quebec will doubt that the statement has in it much truth. My informant was not himself in sympathy with this feeling, and he referred to it with regret. His own influence has been

used to bring his people more freely into the general tide of Anglo-Saxon movement on the continent. But he preaches to comparatively deaf ears. Amalgamation was never, perhaps, to be expected. It makes as little progress among the scattered Acadians of the maritime provinces as in the concentrated population of the province of Quebec; as little in the United States as in Canada. Does the obstacle lie in race, language, or religion? The strong objection of the Roman Catholic Church to mixed marriages does not altogether account for it, since amalgamation with Irish Roman Catholics, who are numerous in Montreal, is almost as uncommon as with the English or Scottish Protestants. It is, therefore, probably in large part a matter of race, and, in a less degree, of language, and must be accepted as a permanent condition.

But there may be a broad national sympathy, unity of public effort and aim, a reasonable yielding to the will of the majority, and a delicate respect for the constitutional rights of others without amalgamation, as we see from the example, say, of Switzerland, where cantons which differ in race, religion, and language act with the most patriotic unanimity. Should Quebec push provincial rights to the utmost in her own case, and yet use all her political influence to interfere with the right of majorities in the other provinces to deal freely, within the limits of the Constitution, even with educational questions, she will awaken a profound distrust in the English provinces. If she pursue a policy of studied race isolation she will become more and

more fossilized amid all the progress and activities of a strenuous continent, and will destroy her own just weight in the councils of the Dominion. If any impression is created that French Canadians sympathize with a policy of national disintegration in any form, they will find themselves face to face with a wall of adamant in the consolidating national purposes of the rest of the Dominion.

These are the warnings which all prudent and impartial thinkers in the Dominion express openly or have in their minds when they consider the position of the French Canadian. They are warnings which are needed, though they are meant more for a few of the leaders, political and ecclesiastical, than for the body of the people. The *habitans* are a simple and docile people, far from aggressive or discontented if left to themselves, but with a Parisian facility for being stirred to sudden and what seems to colder-blooded men unreasoning effervescence. They are what their teachers and leaders make them to a degree almost beyond parallel. It is upon the moderation and self-restraint of these leaders, lay and clerical, more than upon anything else, that freedom from serious friction in the government of the Dominion must depend.

These leaders must say, too, whether French Canada is to be narrow, bigoted, and isolated, or liberal, progressive, and with a legitimate influence constantly increasing. French dominance on the American continent received its death-blow a century and a half ago from a policy which sought to make Canada and Louisiana a

close preserve for a single set of ideas and a single type of Frenchman; a like policy pursued now would mean in the long-run the certain weakening of French influence in the Dominion.

Outside the province of Quebec the French question has no very important bearings. Of 1,404,974 French-speaking people in Canada, all but 218,628 are in Quebec. Those in Manitoba and the North-West only number about 13,000, and can now never form more than a very small fraction of the increasing population. The overflow from Quebec into the counties of Ontario which lie along the Ottawa gave a population in 1891 of 101,123.

One fact about this overflow, however, seems worthy of remark. It was well known that during the ten years preceding the census of 1891 a good deal of land had been taken up in the border counties of Ontario by French Canadians. Yet when the decennial census appeared it was found, to the surprise of everybody, that the French-speaking population of Ontario showed numbers actually a little less than those of 1881. When the Commissioner for the census was reproached by French members of Parliament for inaccuracy in this particular, he pointed out that the census only asked for a return of language, not of race descent. The conclusion seemed irresistible that a portion of the French settlers in these border districts had preferred to return themselves as English-speaking rather than French-speaking. The fact is suggestive. Doubtless the French language will have to struggle for its

existence on a continent where all other races tend at once to become Anglicized in tongue. That it has withstood the effects of its environment so successfully for a full century indicates a singular and, in its way, admirable tenacity of purpose and habit in the French people. Perhaps it is more due to isolation than to any set purpose. Now that the *habitant* goes abroad from the province more freely, indications are not wanting that even in language he cannot altogether resist the influence of his surroundings. The operative in the mills of New England, and the lumberman in the woods of Michigan, when he returns to Quebec has had his native *patois* interlarded with numerous expressions which are certainly not French, though but doubtfully English. This would be still more true were it not for a gregarious habit which, combined with natural race preference, makes him, when abroad, associate almost entirely with his compatriots. To New England the *curé* follows the people and gathers them into congregations. Churches are built for worship, and convents for education; in most of the States French Roman Catholic dioceses have been established. The French shopkeeper comes to supply the wants of the French artisan; local French newspapers give him his news. Thus the *habitant* has almost as little use for English in a New England town as in Quebec itself. Still his isolation is not quite complete.

When I landed in Quebec I found that the French papers, both of the ancient capital and of Montreal, were vigorously discussing how far importations of English

words were affecting the purity of the French tongue as spoken throughout the province. There seemed a consensus of opinion that nothing but a vigorous resistance would give security to the French language. The limits to which that resistance should be pressed bring up a nice question for the French Canadian. No one can doubt for a moment that the man on the American continent who does not know the English language is handicapped in the race for success of any kind. If the French Canadian chooses to isolate himself in this respect, he does it at his own expense; he loses opportunity and influence. It is a heavy price to pay for the maintenance of a sentiment. He can see for himself that his most successful men are those who have mastered the prevailing tongue of the continent.

"Why," one asks, "in the face of facts so manifest, does he not, like the great German communities of the Western States, the Icelanders of the North-West, the people of all races who come to America, hasten to learn the language which they all find is the readiest key to the opportunities of the continent? Why do not the clergy and public men of Quebec, who would gladly see their people prosper and grow in power and influence, insist that English shall be well and carefully taught in every school?"

There can be but one answer. Devotion to the French tongue has become associated in the minds of the clergy with devotion to religion. The *habitant* has had this lesson inculcated till it has become well nigh an instinct in his nature, and to-day we find him con-

trolled by a feeling precisely opposite to that which influences every other race which has settled in America. He prefers, on the whole, not to learn English.

To the Anglo-Saxon the theory that religion needs support of this kind seems absurd; the French pastor, whose personal hold might be weakened by the change, gauges his people by a different standard.

Though a French speech may still frequently be heard in the Dominion Parliament, French members who aspire to really influence the house and country almost invariably speak in English, and it is a noteworthy fact that the most conspicuous orators of Parliament have been English-speaking Frenchmen. Mr. Laurier and Mr. Chapleau are masters of polished English speech, and few men secure a better hearing from English audiences. In perfect enunciation and clearness of English diction Sir Adolphe Caron might give lessons to the majority of his English fellow-members.

While the industrial position of the *habitant* would be greatly improved by a knowledge of English, as is the political position of his leaders, no one would wish to see him give up entirely the tongue which has for him such a wealth of association. Rather is it to be regretted that more of the people of the English provinces do not make themselves familiar with French. Such a knowledge, especially among public men, would create a very real bond of sympathy which does not now exist.

Occasionally one hears regrets expressed in Canada that the French language was ever given any official status in the Federal Parliament. The objections to its employment are manifest, but superficial. The argument on which its permissive use rests is fundamental.

Sir Henry de Villiers, when pointing out, during the Colonial Conference, to a French Canadian audience at Quebec, that he could not speak French because the language of his French ancestors had been crushed out under the Dutch rule at the Cape, added that a man or a people "can be all the more loyal when they are able to express their loyalty in their own language." Such a remark as this embodies the pith of the whole matter.

It is the glory of British government in Canada that it has cheerfully accepted the inconveniences arising from the use of mixed languages that it may give unmixed liberty to the French people of Quebec.

Quebec gives to Canada an industrious, patient, and moral body of peasants, fishermen, and operatives in its lower classes; in its upper classes brilliant speakers and writers, jurists of distinguished ability, and a clergy which in its superior ranks has weight and administrative capacity. But the men who have individual weight and the qualities which win social distinction are singularly few in number compared with the whole population. This may be traced in part to the fact that after 1759 the *seigneurs* and *noblesse*, with their traditions of culture and education, forsook Quebec and returned to France; it is probably still more due to the limitations placed on indi-

vidual development by a rigid ecclesiastical system. One cannot but think that with more liberal views of education, a policy which encouraged free intercourse with the other provinces, a faith in their religion too robust to fear contact with the outside world, the mass of the people would show a more progressive spirit; the movement from the bottom to the top of the social scale would be as active as in the English provinces, and the whole moral weight of the community would be increased.

Not that Quebec has too much influence in the Dominion, but that she has too little of the weight which comes from culture, widespread intelligence, and progressive energy is, or ought to be, the anxiety of English Canadians. That French taste, courtesy, polish, social influence, should make the same impression in America that it has in Europe might well be a dream and inspiration for the French Canadian.

One has no hesitation in discussing frankly this question of race inertia in Quebec. The most clear-sighted men of the province admit and deplore it.

Doubtless it has been due in part to unavoidable circumstances. Cut off from easy contact with the higher standards of France, and not yet in sympathy with those of British people, the difficulty of maintaining social and intellectual activity over a thinly settled country during a large part of this century can easily be understood. But a supreme effort should be made to change these conditions. Something like an attitude of helplessness in face of the immobility of the *habit-*

ant seemed to me to prevail among able and earnest Frenchmen who were thinking much on the question.

A most intelligent priest spoke to me of one form which this immobility took. "A young man in our French villages," he said, "has little encouragement to work his way up to that social distinction of which you speak. If he begins to acquire the culture and adopt the habits of refined society, there is a disposition to look upon him askance, as one who is willing to forsake his own people and their ways for alien forms of life and thought."

Such a feeling as this, if correctly stated, must be a great barrier to progress. It does not represent the aspiring spirit of the France from which the *habitant* sprang, nor that of the Britain with which he is now associated.

Whether the future of the French Canadian is to be a growing or diminishing one seems to me to be hanging just now more than ever before in doubtful balance, and he himself holds the scales, or, to be more precise, a few of his leaders do so. There are many signs of encouragement, and others of an opposite kind. "If you want to find loyalty, come to Quebec," I have heard said over and over again by French Canadians, representative men of different classes and of unquestioned sincerity. I am convinced that the majority of the people of Quebec could honestly re-echo the sentiment. But another note is sometimes heard in the press and on the platform, and it is not easy to measure the real force behind it. One thing may be

said definitely. If the ideas and policy which Mr. Mercier represented have much vogue or prevail, there are troublous times ahead. The larger hope of Quebec lies in the unconditional acceptance of her Canadian destiny. In any attempt to pursue an individual course without reference to the sentiment of the whole Dominion the French Canadian will make shipwreck of his fortunes.

If a gospel of moderation and liberality must be preached to some classes of French Canadians, one of patience and generous consideration must equally be preached to certain sections of their English-speaking fellow-citizens. The average Frenchman of Canada can no more be calm than the Frenchman of France: under excitement he is apt to lose his head, and to say far more than he means. The stolid Saxon rarely says as much as he means, and makes little allowance for a contrary temperament. This latter he must learn to do. There is no sufficient reason why the Orangeman of Ontario should treat so seriously as he does every sign of temporary effervescence in Quebec. Perhaps he too has a strain of Celtic blood. If so, then the mass of reasonable Canadian opinion must restrain the excesses of both alike. The English provinces can afford to be calm under all conditions. They have only to be studiously just, to employ all fair means for diminishing friction, and then rest upon their natural weight of influence. Their real political danger lies not in Quebec and the Frenchman, but in the recklessness of party

conflict, which has more than once tempted their politicians to sacrifice principle in order to win the French vote. The French vote, on the other hand, has seemed at times open to be won rather by the particular concession it had in view than by a reasoned and honest policy.

Mutual respect between the races cannot spring from such relations. Yet for mutual respect there is abundant ground. The Frenchman may well reflect how just and considerate, on the whole, has been the dominant Briton. The Englishman should equally think how loyal, on the whole, has been the French Canadian under peculiar circumstances. If there cannot be in Canada the same mingling of blood which followed the Norman Conquest of England, and made the characteristics of both races the common heritage of all their descendants in England to-day, there can at least be hearty recognition of the better qualities in each, mutual toleration of constitutional differences, common and sympathetic effort for the general good.

The Acadians of the Maritime provinces number about 100,000. Many circumstances have conspired to make this interesting people far from homogeneous with the *habitans* of Quebec, and more in touch with the English among whom they live. Not long since, in one of the maritime provinces, an Acadian Frenchman was for the first time raised to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court. In political life he had filled with great credit important administrative posts,

and had won a high reputation among English as well as French constituents for integrity of character, honesty of purpose, and painstaking care in the management of public affairs. The Acadians are now an extremely contented people—almost too contented, some think, with their comparatively humble lot; and one of the greatest merits of the new judge is the energy with which he has always pointed out to his compatriots that under the constitution of the country in which they live all positions are freely open to them, provided they take the trouble to place themselves on an intellectual equality with their English fellow-citizens and competitors. His example might with advantage be followed throughout French Canada.

Under a reckless and corrupt system of expenditure the local finances of Quebec, during Mr. Mercier's *régime*, became greatly embarrassed, but they are now carefully managed, and are slowly gaining strength, while, as a member of the confederation, the province enjoys its full share in the high financial position achieved by the Dominion at large.

Not much can be said about the opportunities offered by Quebec to emigrants from the United Kingdom. It should be pointed out that in all the old provinces of the Dominion the ungranted and unsettled crown lands are under the control, not of the Dominion Parliament, as in the North-West, but of the Provincial Legislatures, the policy of which is directed by local considerations. Quebec has still large unoccupied areas, but the prevailing inclination

seems to be to fill them with a native French-speaking population rather than from outside. Of late years a very vigorous effort has been made by a colonization and repatriation society, working under clerical supervision, but with the aid of the provincial government, to colonize new districts with young men taken from the older settlements, or others drawn back to the soil from the factories of the United States. The period of depression through which the latter country lately passed has greatly favoured this movement, and the number of those returning to take up homesteads in new districts has been large.

South of the St. Lawrence, in what are known as the Eastern townships, a very flourishing English population has long been established in a good agricultural country. Sherbrooke is the principal town of this portion of the province, and is a centre of manufacturing as well as agricultural industry. Mines of asbestos give employment to a large body of workmen. There are also marble quarries and deposits of copper. A college and a public school on the English model near by at Lennoxville give exceptional opportunities for education.

This is one of the districts to which the attention of settlers with some capital, wishing to obtain partly improved farms, within reach of English and American, as well as Canadian markets, can be with some confidence directed.

In fisheries and timber the resources of the province are very great, and the *habitant* is singularly expert

both as fisherman and lumberman. He is, however, a bad farmer—the worst in Canada—partly, perhaps, because he tries to combine farming with fishing and lumbering, but chiefly from ignorance. In travelling through the purely French portions of the province, one is everywhere struck by the manifest exhaustion of the soil from lack of intelligent cultivation, both in the past and at present; by the inferiority of the stock to that in the other provinces; and by the apparent content of the people with primitive and long obsolete methods and implements of agriculture. Steps are now being taken by the Church as well as by the civil authorities to remedy this state of things. The bishops of the Roman Catholic Church have issued a pastoral letter calling the special attention of their flocks to the importance of improved methods of farming. I was told of *curés* among the Acadian French who had taken upon themselves the management of co-operative dairy works in their parishes, and who seized the opportunity offered by the Sunday sermon to address a homily on agriculture to their parishioners. The success of their efforts would do more than almost anything else to raise the standard of comfort among the people. For a race like the French Canadians, with their willingness to listen to clerical direction, it is a matter of the utmost importance that their clergy are awake to considerations of this kind. A most intelligent priest of a large parish on the Ottawa, with whom I discussed the question in crossing the Atlantic, spoke with enthusiasm of the advantage which his

parishioners had derived from having settled near them a colony of careful and successful Scottish farmers, whose methods were a constant object lesson to the neighbourhood. A Trappist brotherhood near Oka, on the Ottawa, devotes itself to agriculture, with a view to teaching improved systems to the people. It receives the sons of farmers for instruction, and is said, by the mere force of example, to have raised the whole standard of farming in its vicinity. The Quebec Government has sent agents to study Danish methods of dairying, and the province is now making rapid progress in the production of cheese.

Montreal is the greatest city of Quebec and of the Dominion. If the St. Lawrence were not frozen in winter, it would be the commercial rival of New York, and probably one of the greatest cities of the world. Even as it is Montreal's future must be very great, standing as the city does at the meeting-place of ocean navigation and of an astonishing inland water system, at a point where immense combinations of railways tend more and more to focus themselves. The Canadian Pacific, controlling about nine thousand miles of railway in the United States and Canada, the Grand Trunk, controlling four or five thousand more, both have their chief offices and termini here. So have the great inland and ocean navigation companies. The city is in close railway connexion with St. John and Halifax, Portland, Boston, and New York, all of which it uses as convenience determines for winter ports. Every considerable expansion of Canada's exporting

and importing capacity must mean extending business for Montreal. The completion of the canal system seems likely to bring it a share of the export business of the Western States as well. It is the chief point for Canadian wheat, timber, cattle, pork, cheese, butter, and fruit export; it is the greatest wholesale distributing centre for manufactured goods. Not very far from one half of the whole import and export trade of the Dominion passes through Montreal. The largest business firms of the Dominion, the most powerful banking houses, the greatest organizers of industry, of the carrying trade, of railway construction, are here. Among the monetary institutions of the world, very few stand higher than the Bank of Montreal. The finer streets of the city indicate clearly that it is the home of merchant princes, and the centre of much realized wealth. A vast amount of business capacity, chiefly imported from Scotland and England, has gone to build up Montreal, deepen its harbour, open the way to the sea, establish steamship lines, create industries, and organize railway connexion with all parts of the continent.

Montreal is also the meeting-place of the two nationalities of Eastern Canada. The two sides of the city are in striking contrast, yet each is the industrial complement of the other; one the home of capital and business energy, the other of a crowded population distinguished by patient and, on the whole, contented industry.

English Montreal complains that, as compared with

Toronto, it is handicapped by French inertia, and that it has to pay heavy penalties in the shape of taxation for being connected with a province and a municipality where vast accumulations of Church property are free from civic burdens, where the French vote prevails, and French politicians are sometimes extravagant at the expense of their richer neighbours. It freely utilizes the French voter, however, as a workman, and grows wealthy in the process. An excellent workman he is too—not over-strenuous, but intelligent. "A born carpenter" was the phrase by which a large employer of labour described him. Industry in Montreal has enjoyed a singular immunity from disastrous strikes, and the fact should be remembered to the credit of the artisan class. An organised effort to improve municipal government gives promise of good results.

Montreal refines sugar, spins cotton, and manufactures tobacco on a large scale. In these and minor industries, as well as in its great export and import trade, its railway and steamboat lines, its financial institutions, and, above all, its geographical position, the city has the foundations of a prosperity more solid and enduring, in the opinion of good judges, than that of any city of its size on the American continent.

The prosperity of Montreal has to some extent been secured at the expense of the ancient capital, Quebec, where shipping has decreased since the deepening of the St. Lawrence, where the timber trade has fallen

off, and from which the vigorous English business element seems to have in part withdrawn. Of this last point a proof appears to be given in the fact that English members are now but rarely elected to the municipal council. With an abundance of cheap labour, for its French population numbers nearly 60,000, and a situation well adapted for commerce, it is a little difficult to see why the city does not become more of an industrial centre than it is. It manufactures boots and shoes, but not even these to an extent commensurate with its available working population, which ought to make it the Lowell or Birmingham of Canada.

The bridging of the St. Lawrence near the city, which has been contemplated and is believed to be quite practicable to modern engineering, has been thought of as a means to renew the commercial importance of the place. It is claimed, too, that as the export of wheat from the St. Lawrence increases, through the development of the North-West and the completion of the canal system, the climatic advantages offered by Quebec as a point of storage, and in other ways as a point of shipment, may revive its fortunes.

Much more is to be hoped for, I think, from the introduction of capital to give employment to the cheap labour of the place.

But no industrial change can take away from the historic interest of a spot which was for so long one

of the pivots of the world's history, or from the picturesque grandeur of the massive fortress as it towers over the ancient city. More and more the St. Lawrence becomes one of the greatest routes of American and Canadian tourist travel, and Quebec is the central feature of enduring interest. A splendid hotel has lately been completed on the terrace beneath the Citadel, to meet this increasing volume of travel. From its windows the traveller looks out upon one of the noblest prospects that his eye is ever likely to meet—the broad St. Lawrence, stretching away in gleaming brightness between the blue hills which rise on either side; the Island of Orleans, where Wolfe's army was encamped through many weary weeks of waiting; the cliffs of Levis opposite, from which his batteries rained shot upon the Citadel; the Beauport shore, where the bulk of the French army lay watching his movements; the Citadel itself, which was the prize in this great game of war.

Outside the walls is the simple and noble monument erected by England on the spot where her hero fell. Inside the walls is another on which French and British Canadians have united to link together the memory of Montcalm and Wolfe.

In its wealth of picturesque association Quebec is by far the most interesting city on the American continent. So long as the memory of great deeds moves the human heart, it will continue to be a place of pilgrimage.

But as one studies the French Canadian province he becomes convinced that what it most needs is some great awakening of the people to the splendid opportunities which lie before them if they would but throw themselves more heartily into the tide of Canadian progress.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES RAILWAY SYSTEM

London Macmillan & Co.

CHAPTER VII

BRITISH COLUMBIA

To learn the price Canada was ready to pay for confederation and for a pathway from ocean to ocean, the traveller must climb by rail up from the prairies at Calgary through the gorges of the Rocky Mountains to the summit of the Kicking Horse Pass, and then sweep down through the defiles and valleys of the opposite slope, across the Selkirk and Coast ranges, and past the cañons of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers, till he has reached the Pacific. He must study the line of railway in winter, when, as he looks up, at a hundred points avalanches of snow are seen ready to descend upon it from lofty peaks; he must visit it in spring, when, looking down, he sees the tremendous torrents that roar beneath swollen from the melting snows; he must observe with what elaborate care these dangers have been successfully overcome; he must feel the sensation of gliding by day and night over bridges which stretch like immense slender spiders far over the tops of lofty pines; he must ride under miles of sheds built with strength sufficient to resist the avalanche

rush of snow; he must look down almost from the carriage windows into the depths of the Albert cañon; he must be whirled, ascending and descending, around the curves of the Great Loop; he must look out for two or three days continuously on the marvellous succession of mountain peak and range and gorge and embattled cliff guarding the long narrow valleys, all of which go to make up the impressive and magnificent scenery of the greater part of British Columbia. When he has wondered at the courage of the engineers who faced such a task of railway construction, and the energy of the contractors who transported the material and fed the armies of labourers by whom the work was done, and when he has studied the organized watchfulness which has kept this line day and night for several years practically free from danger or serious obstruction, he has yet other even more striking conditions connected with its construction to consider.

Ontario, the base from which the task was approached on the side of Eastern Canada, is 1,600 miles away. The first 400 miles of road round the north side of Lake Superior had to be cut through a wilderness of rough granitic country, uninhabited, and well-nigh uninhabitable, save for the mining populations, which draw supplies from outside. Then followed 1,200 miles of prairie, all of which was also uninhabited, or very thinly inhabited, until the railway opened the way for settlers. All this had to be traversed before the foot of the mountains was reached, where the really serious work began. And for what purpose was this

mighty barrier of the Rockies and Selkirks, 600 miles wide, to be crossed?

Not to unite two great communities striving for closer intercourse, as was the case when the 40,000,000 people of the Eastern and Western States, already advanced far beyond the Mississippi, made the first American line across a narrower range of mountains to get in touch with San Francisco and the large population of the Pacific States, which was also pressing up to the base of the Rockies. In Eastern Canada there were only 4,000,000 people; in British Columbia there were less than 50,000 white people—the population of a small English manufacturing town—and few of these on the mainland, when the railroad was undertaken. It was to complete and round off a national conception; to prepare the way for commercial and political advantages as yet far remote, and by many deemed imaginary, that the work was faced. British Columbia, insignificant in population, was significant enough in position and in some of its resources. It fronted on the Pacific; it had splendid harbours and abundant coal; it supplied a new base of sea power and commercial influence; it suggested a new and short pathway to the Orient and Australasia. The statesmen at Ottawa who in 1867 began to look over the Rockies to continents beyond the Pacific were not wanting in imagination; many claimed that their imagination outran their reason; but in the rapid course of events their dreams have already been more than justified.

They were, perhaps, building even better than they

knew. When Japanese and Australian mail and trade routes are already accomplished facts, when Pacific cable schemes are being discussed, and when the docks and fortifications of Esquimalt are being completed jointly by Britain and Canada, we can see clearly that they were supplying the missing joints and fastening the rivets of empire. While they were doing this they were also giving political consolidation to the older provinces of Canada. Common aspirations and a great common task, with the stirring of enthusiasm which followed on the sudden widening of the Canadian horizon, did more than anything else to draw those provinces out of their own narrow circles and give them the sense of a larger citizenship.

So, though British Columbia made no great addition to the population of Canada, its absorption into the Dominion some years after confederation, and the pledge of a transcontinental railway which was the condition of that absorption, marked a great turning-point in Canadian history. It also added new and interesting features to the already manifold conditions of Canadian life.

It gave the Dominion a new climate, or, one might rather say, a variety of new climates, for between the summit of the Rockies and the shore of the Pacific there are gradations of temperature and climatic effect for both summer and winter as marked as between Norway and northern Italy. It gave a Pacific seaboard many hundreds of miles in length, as rich in the wealth of the ocean as that of the Atlantic, and

wonderfully picturesque in its mingling of gulf, inlet, sound, and fiord. It opened up new and diversified fields for enterprise.

I have shown how much the problems of the North-West differ from those in Eastern Canada; those of British Columbia have an individuality quite as marked, and distinct from both of the others. This might be inferred from the nature of the country. British Columbians are somewhat inclined to object to the phrase "a sea of mountains" by which their province has been described, probably thinking it likely to deter those in search of new homes. Yet the phrase expresses accurately the chief impression left upon the mind of a visitor, and it furnishes the best starting-point from which to discuss the capabilities and limitations of the province.

British Columbia is not, and can never be in any large way, an agricultural country. The people will have reason to congratulate themselves when the production of food fully matches the consumption. This is not the case now, though it ought to become so in respect of many products within a few years. On the coast and islands, along the streams and in mountain valleys, there are considerable patches of good alluvial soil. A moist and warm climate makes it most productive. There are other areas less fertile, but well fitted for pasturage. In many cases they require irrigation, but for this the numerous unfailing mountain streams give abundant opportunity. Northward, as the mountains sink down towards the Peace

River, there is said to be a wide extent of pastoral land, but this is still inaccessible, and ranching is now confined to more southern valleys.

Here is obviously a new set of conditions. In writing of the North-West I described it as especially a country for the poor man; one might have added, a country which gave even the unskilled labourer a chance. Something very nearly the opposite of this must be said of British Columbia. No province of Canada so little admits of indiscriminate immigration. The good farming land is limited in quantity, and, compared with that in other provinces, expensive. The vast deep-sea fisheries of the coast, on account of their distance from markets, can only be developed by degrees, or else by some great organization of collecting and distributing agencies involving the use of much capital. The plans for such an organization have been devised and submitted to the Legislature, in connexion with a scheme for settling Scotch fishermen along the coast, but the practicability of the scheme has yet to be established. The salmon fisheries and tinning establishments of the rivers require comparatively little labour, and even then employment is intermittent. Mines can only be worked with capital, and capital which does not demand a very quick return. The same is true of timber industries, and in this case, even if abundant capital were forthcoming, the difficulty of access to adequate markets hinders the full and rapid development of enterprise in dealing with a bulky material of commerce. In short, the capacity of

British Columbia to receive immigrants is strictly dependent upon the previous influx of capital, which, courageously and yet intelligently applied to the development of the resources of the country, will gradually draw in its train the skilled and general labour required for its operations. Labourers should not go to the province on the mere chance of finding employment, as they may without excessive risk go to some parts of Canada. If this is clearly understood, much disappointment will be avoided. But for men with capital, energy, and common-sense in business: men not afraid to risk something in the hope of large gains: men who can afford to wait, study the country, and watch for opportunities, the openings are varied and most promising.

In the depths of these great mountain ranges are vast stores of mineral wealth. The gold mines of the Fraser and Carriboo districts, the silver and copper mines of the Kootenay, the coal of Canmore, Anthracite, and the Crow's Nest, are only suggestions, but striking ones, of what lies behind. Fifty million dollars' worth of gold was taken in a few years after the first discovery from the rich Fraser and Carriboo alluvial deposits. The almost insuperable obstacles to the transport of heavy machinery to these districts are being gradually overcome, so that hydraulic operations and quartz-crushing are now being substituted for the old placer mining. Geological opinion points to places close at hand as the sources of the alluvial gold, and there are known to be large areas of auriferous gravels.

The first returns from two properties near Quesnelle Forks, in the Carriboo district, where hydraulic machinery has for the first time been applied, are most satisfactory, and probably mark the beginning of a new era in British Columbian gold mining.

The richness of the silver deposits of the Kootenay districts has been fully established by the discoveries of the last two years. Making due allowance for the usual exaggerations of prospectors and company promoters, it seems clear that the district will ultimately prove to be one of the most important areas of silver production on the continent. Still its development will probably be for some time slow. The present difficulty of access, the heavy import duty on lead and on silver ores entering the United States, which furnish the nearest smelting furnaces, and the depreciation of silver during the past two years have all contributed to delay operations. So has the exaggerated price at which silver claims are held by men or small companies not able to work them. The Canadian Pacific Railway appears to be feeling its way past Fort M'Leod towards the Crow's Nest Pass as a means of access to the Kootenay country. Great deposits of coal are also found in this pass, some of which make good coke, so that the means of transportation and the material for smelting may soon be within easy reach. The New American Tariff also provides for a lowering of the duties on silver ores, so that on the whole the prospects of the district are encouraging.

American much more than British capital is at

present seizing the opportunities offered by the Kootenay silver deposits. The truth is that much experience in Nevada and Montana has made the American an expert, beyond all others, in silver, and in the methods of dealing with it. Besides, he goes to new fields of enterprise not merely to invest his money, but to look personally after his investments, as the British capitalist seldom does.

One peculiarity of the industry should be mentioned. Veins of silver ore are singularly uncertain and variable. I found an agreement of opinion that they can be most successfully dealt with by large companies taking up numbers of claims, and so able to balance successes and disappointments over considerable areas. This is the prevailing American system, and it should be adopted by British capitalists if they seek a footing here.

The resources of the mountainous interior are supplemented by those of the coast. The seal fisheries, in spite of restrictions, are still of considerable value. More than 70,000 skins were taken in 1893. The abundance of fish in the rivers and in the coast waters is probably without parallel in the world. The export of tinned salmon alone amounts annually to nearly three million dollars. Of the whole output, the markets of the United Kingdom absorb about five sixths; the rest goes to Eastern Canada and Australia. The Fraser River is the centre of the salmon-packing industry, and this stream also abounds in sturgeon, which have lately become an article of commerce.

Halibut and black cod are found in the greatest abundance off the Island of Vancouver, but the development of a large fishery is hindered by the difficulty of access to adequate markets. The splendid pine of the province is in demand all round the Pacific. It goes to San Francisco, to South America, to China, to Japan, and to Australia.

In the last named country I have seen it used in large quantities at the silver mines of Broken Hill, 300 miles from the coast, in the heart of the desert, the cost of long ocean and land carriage being more than counterbalanced by the facility with which, in comparison with the Australian gum-tree, it can be worked and handled. It finds a market also in Queensland, where I was told that it resists better than most woods the attack of the white ant. The gum-tree, on the other hand, is now being sent to Vancouver, to be used for block pavement, for which it is peculiarly fitted. A striking illustration, certainly, of the possibilities of profitable exchange of products.

The Douglas pine is also exported to the Eastern States, where for many purposes it is preferred to Southern pine, to Cape Colony, and to England. A cargo has quite recently been sent to Egypt. I believe that it can be obtained of greater lengths, squaring to a larger size, than any other wood of equal quality. Cedar also is abundant, and of astonishing size. It is used chiefly in the manufacture of shingles, which on account of their excellence find their way far across the continent. Three hundred feet is not an un-

common height for both pines and cedars. The girth of the trunks is proportionate.

A friend at Vancouver, the manager of a large saw mill, mentioned to me the number of kegs of powder he had used within a year in blowing away the sides of heavy timber in order to reduce the size sufficiently to allow it to pass through his large gangs of saws.

I hinted at the boldness of Western exaggeration, but a visit to his mill was at once arranged, and I saw enough to prove that his statement had a reasonable basis of fact upon which to rest.

There is still a great extent of unexhausted timber-land. One of the largest operators told me that with a widened market and more capital his firm could, from the land it had actually under lease, as easily turn out 100,000,000 feet of timber as the 30,000,000 feet which represented its present annual output. Considering the rapid exhaustion of forest going on in the United States, the value of the best timber on the American Continent must increase rapidly, and the present limitation of output in British Columbia is perhaps not entirely a subject for regret.

Nowhere in the world can more impressive forest scenery be met with than along this Pacific coast of the Dominion. Even where the heavier timber has been cut out, the thickly growing pine-trees which remain, with their clean trunks, straight and lofty as palm-trees, and crowned by dark-green foliage, form a striking picture, which remains long in the memory. Often the heaviest growth is found

on soil of comparatively poor quality, suggesting that the nourishment of these forest giants is derived as much from the atmosphere as from the earth. The fact also suggests the possibility of a continuity of forest products in British Columbia, since the soil is often unfitted for agriculture or pasturage. In the Government reservation of Stanley Park, at Vancouver, the traveller can see, with little trouble, an excellent example of British Columbian forests, with specimens of the great trees, fifteen or twenty feet in diameter, which once covered the site of the town. It is much to be desired that this fine remnant of the original forest may be guarded with jealous care.

Of the extensive coal-measures of Vancouver Island and of their national importance I have written in a previous chapter. Tasmania has not a better climate than parts of British Columbia for the production of all the ordinary fruits. Many species of fruit, like the trees of the country, grow to an unusual size. Hops promise to be an important product, and are grown in great perfection.

It will be noticed that the prevailing industries are such as require special skill even among the workmen. A green hand does not easily fit into the work of the saw mills and lumber woods. Hop-growing and fruit-raising are occupations which require special knowledge. So are cattle-raising and dairying, which, in the dry inland valleys, have often to be carried on by the aid of irrigation. The coal miner and fisherman must grow up to their business. Gold and silver prospecting and

mining in America tend more and more to drift into the hands of specialists, men to whom it becomes well-nigh an instinct to detect the "colour" of gold and estimate the value of ores.

For small farmers who have some money to invest in good lands within marketing distance of the towns, and skill to work them when bought, there is an excellent chance, perhaps the best in Canada. The province still imports much of its food, and prices are high. As the population increases, good farming land, which is scarce, is sure to improve in value. But it is a country for small, not large farming. Lord Aberdeen has bought and is working a large estate in the Okanagan Valley, but he has adopted the sensible plan of encouraging the acquisition of small holdings.

Among the towns, Victoria, though not on the mainland, still holds the foremost place. Originally a Hudson Bay trading post, it sprang into importance when gold was discovered on the Fraser River. The wealth then gained has been increased by the mining, sealing, and fishing industries, and by its being the chief centre of wholesale supply for the province. In this last particular it still holds its own against the rivalry of Vancouver. The immediate vicinity of Esquimalt, with which it is connected by tramway, makes Victoria practically our naval base for the North Pacific. As Esquimalt has the only British graving dock on the Pacific coast of America, the defences of the place, which are now being pushed on rapidly, have not been begun too soon. The docking

facilities must soon be increased. When the Warspite in 1892–3 occupied the single dock for three months, its inadequacy to meet the prior rights of the Navy and the growing demands of merchant shipping was made clear. Victoria has a distinctly English look. With a climate like that of the warmest parts of Devonshire, and picturesque surroundings, it attracts numbers of holiday visitors from San Francisco. Connexion with California has perhaps had something to do with raising the rate of wages and cost of living.

Here we see the Far West begin to merge into the Far East. At Victoria we meet with the advanced guard of that Chinese host which many believe only steady resistance can prevent from revolutionizing the industrial condition of America. To the Chinaman, however, Canada, and particularly British Columbia, owe a debt of gratitude. Without the army of 15,000 or 20,000 Chinese labourers who assaulted the western slope of the Rockies, the railway across the mountains could scarcely have been built, or only at disastrous cost. The Chinaman has received his reward in kinder treatment than he has met with in the United States or in Australia. The restrictions placed upon his coming are not severe; he is safe under the protection of the laws, though not admitted to all the rights of citizenship. He is doing good work for the country as a domestic servant, gardener, or laundryman in the towns; far up in the mountains, as a gold miner, winning the precious metal from old washings where others could not make a living.

Vancouver, the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and one of the termini of the Northern Pacific, furnishes an illustration of the magical change that can in modern times be quickly wrought by the application of capital in combination with science and labour. Eight years ago its site was entirely occupied by a dense forest of the magnificent pines and cedars of the Pacific coast; now it has nearly twenty thousand inhabitants, enjoying all the comforts and most of the luxuries of civilization. The signs of rapid growth are already disappearing; dynamite has blown out the stumps; fire has burnt up the wood; massive blocks of buildings are seen on all sides; the telephone is everywhere; electricity lights the streets, the hotels, even the private houses; it works the excellent tram system which connects Vancouver with the beautiful and flourishing town of New Westminster, ten miles away. The people, coming chiefly from Eastern Canada and England, have retained their eastern and English habits. On Sunday the place has an aspect of quiet respectability like that of an English cathedral town. In spite of its rapid growth it has never known anything of the roughness of new towns across the border. The site of the city is admirable. A moderate elevation gives it an air of dignity; the eye looks down upon the broad and placid waters of the harbour, beyond which are noble ranges of mist-covered hills. Close at hand is Stanley Park, a splendid reservation of primeval forest, covering many hundred acres. Already intersected by pleasant walks and surrounded by a carriage

drive which winds along the cliffs and bays of the peninsula, giving wonderful panoramic glimpses of land and sea, the whole forms a recreation ground for this community, born but yesterday, that the proudest and most ancient capitals of Europe might envy.

Vancouver is the meeting-place of the Empire's extreme west and east and south, for of the two main lines of steamships which frequent the port one has its farther terminus at Hong Kong, the other at Sydney Their presence vindicates the policy which led Canada to make such sacrifices to secure a base upon the Pacific. Three million pounds of tea from China and Japan have been landed on the wharves of Vancouver in a single week, and the Canadian Pacific Railway has made provision to add special freight steamers to its present fine line of passenger boats. Australian steamships already carry away full cargoes of freight. In addition to these two great ocean routes, minor steamship lines give water communication with San Francisco; with Tacoma, Seattle, and other towns on Puget Sound; with Victoria, Nanaimo, and the small ports of the coast farther north. An air of commercial activity pervades the place, and is an augury of further growth.

CHAPTER VIII

NORTHERN CANADA—THE GREAT FUR COUNTRY

I HAVE said before that climatic conditions will always keep the bulk of Canada's population within a belt which has, speaking roughly, a breadth varying from 300 to 500 miles, and which stretches all the way across the continent. It is of this belt alone that I have hitherto spoken. It includes the old provinces and those western regions out of which new provinces are being gradually carved, where fifty or a hundred millions of people could manifestly find the same opportunities of comfortable existence as does the present population of five millions.

But this belt represents barely one-third of the whole land area of the Dominion. North of it is another with features of great interest. In parts the limit of possible wheat culture runs far to the north; in other parts the hardier crops, such as barley, rye, hemp, and flax, together with rapidly-maturing vegetables, can be successfully cultivated. This belt is known to contain large sections where the soil has all the natural fertility which characterizes the more southern lands hitherto referred to.

Regions similarly situated in respect of climate, and lands inferior in point of fertility, maintain considerable populations in the north of Europe, and furnish much and varied material for commerce. In Canada their settlement for agricultural purposes will no doubt be slow, and dependent to some extent upon the occupation of the more favourable lands to the south. But settlers will meanwhile be attracted for other industrial purposes, and it is clearly impossible to form a just conception of what the Dominion really is, or is likely to become, without taking them into consideration.

In the past this second belt, itself a fur-producing country, has been associated almost exclusively in people's minds, even in Canada, with the still more northern regions, also vast in extent, where agriculture is yet more difficult or impossible, where even timber is in places wanting, and where furs furnish practically the whole material of commerce and industry. But this association of thought is a very misleading one. Information is still very incomplete, but enough has been obtained to lead to important conclusions.

A committee of the Canadian Senate was appointed in 1887-8 to inquire into the resources of Northern Canada, and particularly those of the great Mackenzie Basin. The field of inquiry covered the regions which lie between Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains, and from the watershed of the Saskatchewan northward to the Arctic Ocean. After hearing and comparing the evidence of fur traders, missionary bishops and clergy, geological experts and

travellers, the Committee reported that of this region 274,000 square miles could be considered good arable land; that the climate permitted wheat to mature over 316,000 square miles, barley over 407,000, the potato over 656,000 square miles, and that the area suitable for pasturage was even greater. It was shown that the deep northern inclination of the summer isotherms brought it about that spring flowers and buds appeared as early north of the Great Slave Lake as at Winnipeg, Kingston, or Ottawa, while the length of the northern summer day was singularly favourable to the rapid growth of cereals. Along the Peace, Liard and other western affluents of the Mackenzie River spring came still earlier, and here, under the influence of warm south-westerly winds, the summer weather resembled that of Ontario, and the growth of nutritious native grasses was especially luxuriant.

While the heavier timber of Eastern Canada and British Columbia is wanting, the supply of smaller timber suitable for house and ship building, for railway, mining, and other like purposes was found to be practically inexhaustible, and likely to prove of great value in supplying the needs of the treeless regions of Canada and the United States further south. The lakes and rivers yield fresh-water fish of various kinds and of excellent quality in extraordinary abundance. The auriferous region at the head of the Peace, Liard, and Peel Rivers is large, while mineral deposits of various kinds are found in sufficient number in the vast mountain districts especially to justify the ex-

pectation that the country will not prove inferior on the average in mineral production to other areas of like extent.

Along the valleys of the Athabasca and Mackenzie Rivers deposits of coal occur at frequent intervals, and the existence of a very remarkable petroleum field has been established. For a great distance along these rivers the sandy soil is saturated to a depth sometimes of a hundred feet with tar or asphalt, and this is believed by geologists to have its origin in petroleum oozing from the Devonian rocks beneath. Oil has already been observed at several points, but the difficulty of introducing the necessary machinery into the country has hitherto prevented sufficient tests of the value of the field being made by boring. The recommendation of the Committee that parliament should reserve from sale a tract of about 40,000 square miles in order to include this petroleum area, furnishes some suggestion of its supposed extent.

While these are among the general conclusions arrived at by the Committee, it must be borne in mind that they were based, not on detailed knowledge of the whole districts under consideration, but on the evidence of observers at widely separated points. Fur traders, missionaries and explorers have hitherto followed for the most part the great water-courses of the country, and have made observations extending over the whole year only at a comparatively few stations. The spaces still left between for fuller exploration are therefore very large. Dr. G. M. Dawson, in a careful study of the

question, enumerates no less than sixteen different areas, varying in size from 7,500 to 289,000 square miles, none of which has been subjected to intelligent and adequate examination. He sums up by saying that, "while the entire area of the Dominion is computed at 3,470,257 square miles, about 954,000 square miles of the continent alone, exclusive of the inhospitable detached Arctic portions, is for all practicable purposes entirely unknown."

Part of this almost unexplored country consists of the "Barren Grounds," which are chiefly known as the home of the musk ox, and as being frequented by astonishing herds of caribou, which migrate southward during the depth of winter, and return to the shores of the Arctic Ocean during the breeding season. These "Barren Grounds" have not, probably, much to yield to investigation. But there are other parts, such as the great Labrador peninsula, which give distinct promise of rewarding the adventurous explorer by mineral and other discoveries.

Dreary as much of this vast northern region is, however, severe as are the conditions of life which its more remote parts offer, the extent to which its products of one kind have long ministered to the comfort and luxury of mankind is very striking. It supplies furs in larger numbers, of finer quality and of greater value than any other part of the world. For more than two centuries the fur trade has been vigorously prosecuted, and still the supply, save in the case of two or three varieties of animals, shows no signs of exhaustion. The furs are, in

the first instance, brought almost exclusively to the London market. The permanence of the supply, as well as the number and proportion of the furs obtained, may be illustrated by taking the statistics of the annual sales, of which full returns are published, of the Hudson's Bay Company, at intervals of ten years during the last half century. The ten year period has been selected at random from the whole series, but, except in one or two cases it represents a fair average of the annual product.

—	1853	1863	1873	1883	1893
Badger . .	1,754	1,545	2,705	1,510	2,518
Bear . . .	7,484	7,571	8,172	11,188	11,775
Beaver . .	55,456	114,149	149,163	109,462	56,508
Ermine . .	2,002	1,178	4,012	5,112	9,120
Fisher . .	5,861	6,053	3,639	4,640	4,828
Fox, Blue .	46	29	90	37	51
Fox, Cross .	2,307	1,946	2,315	1,762	2,673
Fox, Kitt .	2,563	5,542	6,930	491	299
Fox, Red .	6,869	6,402	8,339	5,869	11,964
Fox, Silver .	847	588	694	506	615
Fox, White	3,966	3,365	7,325	5,886	4,708
Lynx . . .	5,361	4,448	5,123	7,599	8,659
Marten . .	73,055	79,979	66,841	62,711	100,257
Mink . . .	25,152	43,961	44,740	47,508	58,171
Musquash .	493,952	357,060	767,896	1,069,183	806,103
Musk Ox . .				368	888
Otter, Land	8,991	13,331	11,263	11,992	8,671
Otter, Sea .	214	196	99	7	8
Porpoise . .		5		176	323
Rabbit . .	54,858	39,510	10,064	17,830	50,281
Raccoon . .	1,695	3,883	3,636	841	194
Seal, Fur .		403	2,073	652	404
Seal, Hair .	1,425	16,933	9,862	3,888	1,366
Skunk . .	1,619	1,969	1,759	7,178	9,214
Swan . . .	1,016	877	338	222	28
Wolf . . .	8,508	3,932	6,413	2,121	1,577
Wolverine .	1,302	1,426	2,095	1,883	1,017

Experts in the trade will easily recognize from this enumeration how much the world depends for its finest and most expensive fur products upon Northern Canada.

But the figures given by no means represent the whole output of the country. The Hudson's Bay Company has now no monopoly of the trade, and large quantities of furs reach the market through other channels. The estimate given by the Senate Committee in their report of 1888 places the whole annual Canadian production at more than four million skins, the proportions of the various kinds not differing much from what appears in the statistics of the Hudson's Bay Company.

It can scarcely be said that the furs of Siberia compete with those of the Dominion. As a matter of fact the Russian supply is not equal to the home demand. Quantities of the finest furs obtained in Canada and brought to London are sold in Germany, and especially at Leipsic, whence they find their way to the Novgorod fair, and other large centres of Russian trade.

Northern Canada has therefore been rightly called "the last great fur preserve of the world." This character it is likely to retain. The buffalo, whose hide was once an important article of commerce, has disappeared before the advance of civilization. The limits over which the beaver is found have steadily narrowed, and this animal, too, can apparently only be saved from extinction by the reservation of areas where it can multiply undisturbed for fixed periods, and by limita-

tions put upon the catch. With these exceptions, there seems to be no reason why the furs of Northern Canada may not remain a permanent element in the industry and commerce of the country.

Very picturesque and romantic is the aspect which this chief industry of the far north has given to Canadian life. The long, lonely winter on the borders of the Arctic Circle; the shrewd and fearless Scotch factor, devoted to the interests of his employers, and cut off for years from friends and civilized society in his remote fort or post, with perhaps a mail once or twice in the year; the hardy *voyageurs*, carrying the bales of furs over one or two thousand miles of rapid river and rough portage to reach the point of shipment, and then retracing their weary course with loads of supplies for another year; the trapper, pursuing his solitary and dangerous work by night or day in the depths of the forest and along the frozen northern streams; all these have lent themselves naturally to the pages of romance and adventure. It may be doubted if any service ever produced a more hardy, courageous, and resourceful class of men than did that of the Hudson's Bay Company in the wide-spread domains over which it so long held sway. From the days of the Cavaliers and Prince Rupert, who was the first Governor of the company, to the present time seems a long bit of history; but during all that period the Hudson's Bay Company has been a vigorous and progressive commercial body, and an important agency in maintaining the good will and peaceful attitude of the native Indian

tribes which are scattered over the remote parts of the Dominion. The present Governor is Sir Donald Smith, and it is understood that among the many honours of a successful life he values as much as any the fact that he has worked his way to the head of the historic company in whose service his career began.

Until 1868 the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter gave it almost absolute control over not merely the more Northern regions of Canada, but over what we now know of the North-West. In that year it handed over its territorial rights and governing powers to the Dominion. But it is still a powerful organization with far-reaching influence. Besides maintaining its distant posts and transport system for the fur trade, it carries on an immense business throughout the newly settled parts of the North-West, having established shops for the sale of goods at almost every important centre of population from Fort William to Victoria. By the terms on which it surrendered its territory to the Dominion it became entitled to one-twentieth of all the land laid off for settlement in the Fertile Belt. Three million five hundred thousand acres have thus already been assigned to it, and as much more will probably fall to its share, so that the company is now deeply interested in the sale and settlement of land. The changed conditions of the country have also introduced new features into the fur trading operations of the company. There is still a great extent of territory over which the old methods of transport by canoe and portage obtain. But much of the goods once sent

to the remote north by way of York Factory and Moose Factory on Hudson Bay are now despatched by rail from Montreal to Winnipeg, which is the chief distributing centre for the northern districts. A steamer plies on the Saskatchewan in the summer for the transport of goods and furs, and another on Lake Winnipeg. On the Athabasca and Mackenzie Rivers three steamers are employed for the delivery of outfits and for bringing back the furs which have been collected. There are thus at present fully two thousand miles of steam navigation where the paddle and pole of the *voyageur* were once the only dependence.

There is still the regular annual despatch from England of ships to Fort Churchill and Moose Factory, and the return cargo consists not only of furs, but also of the oil and salted salmon which have been collected at the various posts of the company along the Labrador coast.

It will thus be seen that the Hudson's Bay Company continues to hold a most important relation to the industry and development of Northern Canada.

There remains for mention one problem connected with Hudson's Bay itself, the solution of which may profoundly affect the future of some parts of the Dominion.

Many practical men believe firmly in the possibility of successfully establishing a route by way of Hudson's Bay for the transport to Europe of the products of the North-West. The practicability and safety of the navigation for four if not five months of the year for vessels partially prepared to deal with ice, seems to

be fairly well established. Among others, Admiral Markham confidently holds this opinion. The Hudson's Bay Company sends ships annually to its ports on the Bay, and in its long history has only lost two of these ships. It is known that at various times since the Bay was discovered between 700 and 800 vessels have successfully navigated its waters. These included English and French war ships as well as trading and exploring vessels. Fort Churchill furnishes an excellent harbour, though it is the only one on the western coast of the Bay, for the largest sea-going ships. Five or six hundred miles of railway would put Fort Churchill in close connection with existing lines of communication which extend over the great wheat and cattle region of the North-West. Such a line would be expected to tap the products of the Western States as well. Transport by a route so much shorter than those now used by Montreal and New York would mean a saving in time and expense so considerable as to distinctly modify the conditions of farming in the western regions of Canada. This saving has been estimated at £3 per head for cattle and five shillings per quarter for wheat. Though the difficulties are considerable, the inducements to the establishment of such a line are therefore great. The question of construction will probably be decided by the extent to which production in the North-West presses upon the means of transportation. That again will depend in part on the completeness of the water-carriage established from the head of Lake Superior to the sea.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE RELATIONS AND TRADE POLICY

WHAT may be called the national interest of Great Britain in Canada as an integral part of the Empire is out of all proportion to her immediate trade interest. Although Canadians take of British goods about three times as much per head as do their neighbours in the United States, still Canada at present furnishes only about 3 per cent. of the whole volume of British imports; the percentage which she takes of British exports is little, if any, greater. Canadian exports to Britain are certain to increase greatly, especially in the matter of food supply; imports from Britain will also increase with the growth of population and wealth, or still more from a change of trade policy. But even a large increase would furnish no measure of Canada's significance to the Empire. What has been said in previous chapters about her naval stations, her coal supply, her facilities for communication across the American continent, her essential relation to the maritime position of the Empire, seems to make the national relationship of the Dominion, entirely apart from trade,

a matter of vital concern to British people. It is this fact, more than the actual volume of her commerce, which justifies in England and throughout the Empire careful study of her trade interests and trade inclinations. Are they such as are likely to modify her national relationship, as is often asserted? Has the idea of annexation to the United States taken any stronghold on the Canadian mind, or are there decisive trade reasons why it should do so in the future? As to the prevailing state of feeling at present, taking the country as a whole, there can be no reasonable doubt. It may be questioned whether there is in Canada to-day, from Atlantic to Pacific, any political passion so strong as opposition to absorption into the United States. It is practically accurate to say that no avowed annexationist could be elected to the Dominion Parliament. If any believer in annexation gets a seat there, it is by concealing his views. Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has placed himself openly at the head of a society formed to bring about annexation, or, as he terms it, continental union, has quoted in a letter to the American press the name—apparently the only one he could discover—of Mr. Solomon White, then member of the Ontario Local Legislature for a border constituency, but since defeated, as a Parliamentary advocate of the idea. I had the opportunity of discussing the subject rather thoroughly with Mr. White, and certainly, if annexation has no more ardent advocate than he, the cause is not likely to make progress.

While the opinion of the people as a whole is thus clearly defined, it may be admitted that along the borders, where the frontier, with its Custom houses carrying out the regulations of a high protective tariff, offered hindrances to local trade, a certain amount of annexation talk was in past years heard. It has also been heard from time to time among bitter and disappointed political partisans. The question is never discussed on grounds of political, social, or moral advantage, but entirely from a trade basis. Into this discussion it was deeply interesting to enter. One preliminary condition I found it necessary to fix. It is useless to discuss the local or peculiar trade relations of a parish, a town, or a county in a country which covers half a continent. Even observations which extend only over a single province may be extremely misleading in drawing general conclusions for so vast an area. Only those great dominating industries or interests which must finally determine national policy are worth taking into account. Narrowing the subject thus, a person finds himself face to face with one primary consideration—What is the natural market for Canadian products? This is a question much debated in Canadian party politics; it is a question which should be studied closely in England, where it is often carelessly assumed that the contiguity of the United States creates for Canada an overwhelming interest in the market nearest at hand. Without detailed examination of the facts, this conclusion is a natural one. That 65,000,000 of people on its im-

mediate borders should make a far greater demand on the products of the Dominion than 40,000,000 of people 3,000 miles away, seems, on first thought, a reasonable inference. It does not seem so reasonable when we reflect on the one simple fact that the staple products of Canada are, with one or two exceptions, staple products of the United States as well, and that, therefore, over a large range of industry, the two countries are natural rivals in markets where their surplus products are required. There is a physical fact, too, which must be once more specially noted in considering the question. Almost to the heart of the continent Canada enjoys the advantage of water carriage—a circumstance which beyond everything else minimizes for commercial purposes the effect of distance. When the canal system is complete, as it soon will be, it will be possible to send Canadian products in ships of 2,000 tons burden from the head of Lake Superior to Montreal, for transference to larger vessels, or even direct to Liverpool, Manchester, or London, without breaking bulk. Keeping these considerations in view, it seems to me capable of demonstration that the great and dominant trading interests of Canada lie with Britain rather than with the United States—with the far market rather than with the near. This is, I think, true at present; it is still more strikingly true if we consider the country's prospective development. The statement will bear investigation in detail, and we may begin with a great staple product.

If there is one thing about which Canadians feel confident, it is that the settlement of population in the North-West will result in the production of a large surplus of wheat. That wheat will necessarily find its natural market, as the small surplus now does, across the Atlantic, not in a wheat-exporting country like the United States; its carriage implies the prosperity of the lake shipping, the canals, the railways, the ocean ports, and ocean shipping. A million or two more of wheat-producing settlers on the prairies would make this interest one of the greatest importance all the way from Regina to Montreal, St. John, and Halifax.

The cattle trade of Canada with Britain has grown rapidly; more than 100,000 live cattle have been sent across the Atlantic in a single year. In this trade the United States, which sends more than 300,000, is her greatest rival. Any increase of the cattle export—and it is likely to increase largely—will manifestly be for the British market. With dead meat and cattle products the same is true. Cheese goes almost exclusively to the United Kingdom: for the best quality of butter the same market is best. I have pointed out in a previous chapter the probability that pork, in the production of which inferior qualities of wheat can be profitably utilized, may become a large Canadian export. It would not go south to compete with American corn-fed pork and the great packing establishments of Chicago. The pork-packing establishment now at Ingersoll sends all its surplus output

to England; a larger one has also been started by an English company at Woodstock, with the express purpose of inducing farmers in the neighbourhood to rear animals best suited for the home market, as the same company and others have already led Irish and Danish farmers to do, to their immense advantage.

The United States have till lately been the best market for such horses as Canada had to sell. A blow was struck at this trade by the imposition of a high duty, but the substitution of electricity for horses on tramway systems seems likely to destroy altogether the American market for ordinary horses without reference to tariff. For the best quality of horses Britain has always been the better market, and the development of the trade will depend upon the attention paid to improved breeding. More than 5,000 horses were sent from Canada to the United Kingdom during the shipping season of 1894.

In 1893 Canada sent more than 600,000 barrels of apples to the United Kingdom. One of the largest dealers in Ontario told me that this was the only market to be relied on, and that though about 100,000 bushels were sent to the United States in the same year the fact was exceptional.

The great timber trade of the St. Lawrence and maritime provinces is chiefly with Great Britain; and British Columbia, which has hitherto chiefly supplied Pacific ports, is now beginning to ship to England also. The exhaustion of American forests, however, is no doubt stimulating the demand in the United States for

some kinds of Canadian timber, and a large trade will result from the abolition of the import duty.

Experiments made on a large scale of shipping poultry from Ontario to England have proved successful, and the trade is capable of indefinite development. A single exporter in Western Ontario told me that for seven years he had each season sent several carloads of turkeys through New York (in order to secure the most rapid transit) to Liverpool, and had found the operation profitable and satisfactory. The market thus reached through the United States at a distance of 3,500 miles was, he added, practically unlimited, and he was amazed that the nearer maritime provinces did not avail themselves of it more fully. For the small and slipshod dealer along the border the near market for poultry is no doubt the best; for the large exporter, carefully studying methods of treatment and transportation, the distant market makes the best returns.

Canadian trade with Great Britain is in some particulars much less than it will be when proper organization in the carrying trade has been secured and careful study given to the needs of the British market. Of what these can do we have a striking illustration in the case of cheese. Twenty-five years ago Canada sent scarcely any cheese to the United Kingdom; the methods of manufacture were poor; the industry was without efficient organization. A resolute effort was made to improve, the best systems were adopted, factories established, and the greatest care was taken to ship only the best qualities, with the result that

an export which in 1868 was valued at $500,000 had in 1881 risen to $5,000,000, and in 1891 to $10,000,000. In the latter year Canada sent to Great Britain 106,000,000 lbs.; the United States, its chief competitor, only 82,000,000 lbs., or one half of what it was sending in 1881. In 1893 the Canadian export had risen beyond 133,000,000 lbs., which was 53 per cent. of the whole British import, while the American export had dropped still further to 81,000,000 lbs. In that year Great Britain took Canadian cheese to the value of $13,360,237, while all other countries took less than $50,000 worth.

The quality of Canadian cheese also has become so distinct that steps are being taken to have all produced within the country for export officially branded. At the Chicago Exhibition the superiority of Canadian cheese was strikingly maintained. In the spring exhibit, out of 136 awards no less than 125 fell to Canada, and the proportion at the fall exhibit was nearly as large. Most of the Canadian output is from Ontario and Quebec, where I found that cheese is considered one of the most profitable farm products. One observes that the farming districts of the Eastern peninsula of Ontario, apparently the most generally prosperous in Canada, are those in which cheese manufacture has been most carefully developed. In the maritime provinces the opportunities are even better, since a moist climate gives superior pasturage, and there is much land singularly adapted for raising hay.

What has been done with cheese could unquestion-

ably be done with butter. There are no better butter-producing districts in the world than the marsh and intervale lands of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, but the introduction of factories capable of turning out a first-class article of even quality, points essential to a command of the best English markets, has only begun, and means of transportation have not been perfected. It is a distinct rebuke to Canadian enterprise to find that New Zealand and the Australian colonies, which have to send their products 12,000 miles, and across the tropics, are taking the lead in this important particular, simply by superior skill and completeness of organization. Much attention is now being given to the matter, the General Government has arranged a system of instruction in butter making, and the cheese factories are being adapted to the production of butter during the winter. It has been mentioned that the apple trade, too, large as it is, has been much hampered by bad packing and the export of inferior fruit. The care and, I may add, honesty in these particulars shown by the Tasmanian grower might well give a lesson to the over-sharp Nova Scotian or Ontario packer, by which he would secure better returns. If the latter could but watch the keen faces of a group of London costermongers at Covent Garden when the heads of the apple barrels are knocked out, and the contents exposed to the centre before sale, he would understand that his clever packing is sheer stupidity. The name of any unequal apple-packer in Canada should be posted for public execration, so great is the harm that he does to one of the most promising industries of the country.

Of products not now of importance, but likely to become so, nickel and silver are worthy of mention. I visited the mines of nickel ore at Sudbury, in Ontario, which surpass anything yet found in the world. It is difficult to obtain accurate information about these deposits, since, in the uncertainty as to the future of the metal, both the English and Canadian companies which have works here are exceedingly reticent about the extent and value of their possessions. But the reports of Canadian geologists and of experts sent by the American Government to institute inquiries make it clear that the supply of nickel in the district is practically inexhaustible. At present a considerable quantity of ore is smelted, and shipped chiefly to South Wales and the United States. The output could easily be increased, but it is fixed by the comparatively limited application of the metal in the arts. If nickel realizes the expectations conceived about it, and becomes a necessary ingredient in armour-plating, it will no doubt seek the English centres where armour-plating is chiefly manufactured.

From the Kootenay district in British Columbia a large production of silver seems assured. Like the silver of Broken Hill in Australia, it will flow to English markets, rather than go southward to compete with Nevada and other States which have the largest silver output in the world.

Summing up, then, it would appear that for wheat, cattle, dead meat, cheese, butter, pork, apples, timber, nickel, and silver, the distant market is, or can easily be

made, the better; the one to which these products will naturally go. That they include the dominant industries of Canada, those which must always furnish the largest surplus for export, cannot, I think, be successfully denied.

Against this group of products we must now put another before we can fully weigh existing trade conditions. In this second group the chief place must be given to coal. The bituminous coal of Vancouver Island, though supplying British Columbia west of the Rockies, and sent to many points in the Pacific Ocean, still finds its largest market in San Francisco and other American towns. Here it has been for some years faced by a duty of seventy-five cents per ton, the removal of which unquestionably means an enlarged market and increased profits. The same is true of the Lethbridge mines of Alberta. The Nova Scotia mines, in the last few years, through special favour shown to them by the Government railways, and under a protection similar to that given to American coal, have found a home market better than they ever enjoyed in New England, under reciprocity, but to them too the freedom of the American market will give a decided stimulus.

Next to coal is barley, which has hitherto found its way chiefly to the United States. There seems no sufficient reason why Canadian barley should not come to supply the large demand in England, and, judging from what has already been accomplished, it will probably do so in time. When the American market was closed by the McKinley tariff, the farmers had to make a

change from the four-rowed barley commonly grown and bought for American breweries to the two-rowed variety which brewers prefer in England. The export to Britain has increased under this change, but the Canadian farmer has not yet learned to exercise the care required to match the sensitiveness of the English buyer to the least variations of colour and grading. Eggs, shut out by the McKinley tariff, have been diverted with singular rapidity to Britain—more than 40,000,000 having been sent over in 1892, and nearly 50,000,000 in 1893. The trade has proved profitable, but still, for so perishable a commodity, the advantage of a near market, at least as an alternative, is manifest. The United States duty on eggs has now been reduced nearly one half.

The interests of the large fishing industry are divided. Tinned salmon and lobsters, of which there is a large export, go almost exclusively to Britain, salted fish to the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and South America, fresh fish to the States.

If now we add spring lambs and chickens, vegetables, and other minor farm and mineral products, some too bulky for distant exchange, some too perishable for long carriage—chiefly such as the maritime provinces furnish to New England towns—we have pretty well exhausted the lines of production on which Canada must look to the United States for the best market.

This group, then, comprises barley (for the immediate present only), coal, fresh fish, and minor farm products, to which should be added, I think, timber

in some forms, and some varieties of iron ore peculiar to Canada. But in regard to most of these products Canada holds on the American continent a natural superiority which is beginning to assert itself. San Francisco, as I have pointed out, depends on British sources for all its good coal. New England factories want Nova Scotia coal, and the towns of Northern Montana require that of Lethbridge, because it is the cheapest and the best accessible. The brewing interest of the States is united in pressing for the removal of the duty on Canadian barley, which has long been considered the best on the continent. The extraordinary prices at times paid for Ontario timber limits by American operators prove the comparative exhaustion of American forests. For fresh fish the great American cities depend more and more upon the northern Canadian waters.

The conclusion seems to be irresistible that for the main lines of Canadian export the British market is infinitely the more important. In several of the other cases I have enumerated, where the near market is advantageous, the American people have already in their own interests been induced to open their country more freely to Canadian products. Only a feeling of trade animosity such as was displayed in the last Message of President Harrison can prevent them from doing this still further.

To any policy dictated by this feeling Canadians will undoubtedly reply in the future as in the past, by either finding new markets for what they have to sell,

or by turning their attention to production of other kinds. The unlooked-for result upon Canadian commerce of the operation of the McKinley tariff proves that even this prospect need not be discouraging. The returns for 1892 indicate that the trade of Canada for that year was the largest in her history up to that time, and that while there was a decline in the case of the United States, chiefly owing to the exclusion of barley and eggs, there was a large increase with every other important country with which the Dominion deals, and especially with Great Britain. Compared with 1891, the exports to Great Britain rose from $49,280,328 to $64,900,549; those to the United States dropped from $41,138,625 to $33,830,696. This change is very remarkable and significant. A vigorous effort to open up a larger trade with the West Indies has met with fair success, and exchange with Australia has increased rapidly with the introduction of better steam communication across the Pacific.

In what I have said there has been no intention to question the great value to Canada of the freest trade relations attainable with the United States. My object has been to show that they are not absolutely essential to her prosperity; that, in fact, Canada holds upon the American continent a fairly independent trade position, which, if properly made use of, is quite sufficient to give security to her political status. Both countries have much to gain from increased interchange of products, but to suppose that the greater commercially dominates the smaller is an utter mistake. It is a remarkable

fact that in the midst of almost universal depression—a depression which has particularly affected the United States—the increase of Canadian trade referred to as taking place in 1892 was maintained in 1893.

These truths need to be impressed upon Canadians themselves. In some parts of the country one heard statements made, by otherwise intelligent men, which indicated that party politics were too absorbing to permit study of the bare arithmetical facts of trade and commerce. The Liberal party has exaggerated the importance of the United States market, and has shown a readiness to make excessive sacrifices to obtain it. The Conservative party, or rather a section of it, has staked too much upon the hope of preferential trade with Great Britain instead of depending upon the innate advantages and opportunities of Canada itself. To make the most of these last much yet remains to be done. The lack of close study of the British market and of a resolution to put upon it only the best products in the best condition has been referred to. An improved freight service across the Atlantic should be provided. Sir William Van Horne has pointed out to the Toronto Board of Trade on a public occasion that the use of modern ships, with the best coal-saving appliances, would mean, by reduction of freight charges alone, an addition of 10 per cent. to the present value of a large volume of Canadian exports. Most important of all, perhaps, is tariff revision. These three things—great care in studying and meeting the demands of the British market, improved means of transportation, and such

lowering of duties as will reduce the cost of agricultural production to the lowest possible point and encourage exchange with the mother country—will do more for Canada than she can ever hope to gain from preferential treatment by Great Britain. The latter is distant and doubtful, the others practicable and open to immediate adoption.

On the question of tariffs, something more must be said. With the export trade of Canada in many lines turning so decisively towards the United Kingdom, English people will naturally study with interest the prospects of an equivalent return trade, and ask whether Canada shows any inclination to relax her protective system either towards Britain or towards the world. The prolonged political conflict over trade policy has not yet ceased, and one hears widely varying expressions of opinion based sometimes on party feeling, sometimes on genuine conviction. The Dominion, like the United States, is manifestly in the midst of a transition period. Some conclusions, however, seem to me clear.

It may be said with confidence that protection has now reached its highest point in Canada. It would probably never have got the hold it has, save for the example and neighbourhood of the United States. The example was to some extent misleading. Protection always had a better chance of success, temporary or permanent, in the United States than in Canada, because the former country had naturally a greater variety of production within itself, and also because it

started upon its protective career with a population large enough to give an immense area of internal free trade. Yet I cannot think that the adoption of a protective system by Canada was at the time a mistake, or has been without good results. It was entered upon under peculiar circumstances. The North-West had just been acquired; its opening up seemed a national necessity; a pledge had been given to connect by rail the Pacific coast with the Atlantic. The older provinces shrank from a task so vast, which involved raising revenues beyond precedent. It is safe to say that without the hope held out by the protective policy of an increased manufacturing population at home, and a wider exclusive market in the West, the work would never have been undertaken or carried rapidly on to successful completion. Again, the neighbouring republic had just denounced a mutually beneficial reciprocity treaty, and adopted a fiscal system which, in its operation, exposed the incipient industries of a weaker country like Canada to the greatest dangers.

Monopolist manufacturers at home might be bad, many a free trader reasoned, but their work was, at least, done within the country. To be at the mercy of highly protected manufacturers in another land, where rings and trusts held almost unbounded sway, had about it no redeeming feature. Once more, the large revenues which it was necessary to raise could not be obtained by direct taxation, to which the habits and prejudices of the people had long been utterly opposed.

What the public men of the day had to consider, in

carrying out their daring but, as events have proved, their well-judged plans, was how to extract from the taxpayers a very large revenue in the form that seemed least objectionable. A tariff at once high and incidentally protective was the method adopted. If we grant all that may be urged as to the fallacies of the protective idea, still, politicians no more than doctors can be greatly blamed for giving a sugar coating to an unpleasant medicine.

As it was, the stimulus of the national policy, as the system was called, whether artificial or otherwise, carried the country through a period of great strain and effort—a period, too, in which it acquired a self-reliance never known before. Conditions have now greatly changed. Several circumstances combine to make a more or less decisive change of policy not only advisable but possible of adoption. The limit of large capital expenditure undertaken for necessary works has now been almost reached. The essential railway systems are practically completed. The same will soon be true of the canals. Industries for which temporary protection was deemed necessary have now had a good start, and may fairly be asked to begin to stand alone. The general expansion of trade gives buoyancy to the revenue, and the Government had in 1890, 1891, and 1893 a large surplus to deal with, and a small one in 1892, though sugar had just been made entirely free.

There seems to me to be a consensus of opinion throughout the North-West, in the agricultural communities of the East, and among men of independent

thought everywhere, that the first object of Canadian statesmanship should now be to make the Dominion a cheap country to live in. A large inflow of population to the unsettled areas, the greatest good of the greatest number in all parts, seem to depend on this. Even manufactures which have made great strides under the impulse of protection now feel a still greater need of the wide market which only a large and prosperous agricultural population can supply. The extreme depression in the price of agricultural produce has led farmers to consider more closely than they ever did before the price of the manufactured goods they buy and in some provinces there has been much organization to give political effect to their views.

Greater freedom of trade, then, is gradually coming in response to a strong popular demand. It might have won in the last general election against all the strength of Sir John Macdonald and a powerful Government, had not a small section of the Liberal party allowed its advocacy to be mixed up with suspicions of their fidelity to national connexion—suspicions which can in no wise attach to the party as a whole. That election, and still more the bye-elections which followed, killed the idea of commercial union with the United States as then suggested, which involved discrimination against the motherland. With the idea of commercial union has since completely vanished any inclination which here and there may have been harboured towards political union. In 1892 some remnants of this feeling could yet be discovered; in 1894 it was gone. The un-

paralleled wave of business depression which swept over the United States during the interval; the spectacle of Coxeyite armies of the unemployed moving on Washington; of Atlantic steamboats and Canadian railway trains crowded with emigrants returning from the United States; of industry paralyzed by strikes which divided authority made it difficult to repress—all made Canadians more conscious than they had ever been before of the serious social and political problems which their neighbours have to confront. The fact that Canada's industrial condition was meanwhile scarcely affected emphasized the advantages of her independent position on the continent.

Now that the struggle against commercial union is over, a broader and truer conception of improved and freer trade relations is growing up. The Conservative leaders are not, I think, unwilling to recognize this new tendency of the public mind. Any one who studies Canada from coast to coast will be convinced that in doing so they will be serving their own interests. The Government, however, secure in a large majority, can, until the approach of a general election, suit its own convenience in dealing with the question. In the Session of Parliament for 1893 the growing feeling in favour of a reduction of protective duties was staved off by the promise of a searching inquiry into the working of the national policy in all parts of the Dominion, an inquiry which has since been carried out by the Finance Minister and his assistants. This inquiry led to a revision of the tariff, and very considerable reductions,

though not so large or so numerous as had been expected. The process of reduction is likely to go further. The Conservative party seems resolved to cling to its traditional policy of protection in the case of special industries, while proposing from time to time a considerable advance in tariff reform as circumstances make this possible. The Liberal party claims that it is the truer representative of unshackled trade. The tendency is the same in both political parties.

There will be difficulties to overcome. Large revenues must still be raised; vested interests will make themselves considered. The manufacturing centres of the East will make their influence felt as well as agricultural interests West and East. Some industries will make a strong plea for continued support. Still there are numberless directions in which fetters can be removed from trade, and the tendencies are manifestly in that direction. As changes are made there will be a strong desire to make it favour trade with the motherland. It is claimed that this is done by the recent revision. Any allusion to such freer trade made in popular assemblies is sure to draw out enthusiastic applause. Mr. d'Alton M'Carthy, the most prominent private member of the Conservative party, has openly declared himself in favour of a direct and unconditional reduction of duties on English goods. This is not sentiment, but business. A return cargo makes cheap freights. A country which hopes to cover the North Atlantic with ships carrying its

products to England cannot, if it is wise, wish to see those ships return in ballast.

There are one or two things which it seems well to point out to the British manufacturer who looks on the Canadian as his rival. The impression left upon my mind by the study of Canadian manufacturing development in relation to British trade is this. In new countries like Canada, under a protective system, and even without it, there will be a tendency to develop all the rougher forms of manufacture locally. The cheapness of the article produced, the small margin of profit, the cost of carrying material, all contribute to make this natural. I believe that coarse cottons or woollens, for instance, can be produced in Eastern Canada to-day and placed upon the market as cheaply as those from Manchester or Yorkshire. The policy of the English manufacturer, under such conditions, is manifest. He must make up his mind to turn more and more—and he might as well do it without grumbling—from the lower to the higher forms of manufacture. With his abundant capital, with greater attention to technical education among his workpeople, with the fuller command that he has of mechanical and artistic skill, he can easily do this. In this field he will find a constantly enlarging market in proportion as both manufactures and agriculture increase the prosperity and buying capacity of the new communities. Let me give a practical illustration of what I mean. I have observed a large cotton mill started in one of the

maritime provinces of the Dominion, giving employment to many hundreds of hands. Cheap land, cheap building material, low taxes, easy water carriage for the raw cotton, adundance of cheap fuel from the waste wood of saw mills, and excellent facilities for railway distribution make it possible for this mill, even with a greater outlay for wages, to compete successfully in gray and other coarse cottons with those of England. In this particular line of goods, therefore, the Manchester trade is checked. But, if the Manchester manufacturer could observe how each year the shops at which these prosperous Canadian artisans deal become more and more packed with the finer goods which they require, he might learn two lessons—first, that it is stupid to try to force his old wares on a market where he is handicapped; and, secondly, that with a little adaptability the new condition of things might be turned to his own great advantage. All observation of colonial markets convinces one that the English manufacturer has as much reason to study the changing wants of the colonists in manufactured goods as the colonist has to study the needs of the home consumer in the matter of food supply.

At Woodstock, Ontario, I glanced hurriedly, under the conduct of the proprietor, through the largest high-class "dry goods" (drapery, millinery, &c.) establishment in the town. Seventy or eighty per cent. of all the goods sold were of British production, he told me. "But," he added, as we passed through a room devoted

almost exclusively to ladies' mantles, "all these are from Germany." "Why Germany?" I asked. "More taste, better material, better work for the same amount of money than can be got in England." He left the impression on my mind that the Canadian mantle trade now centres chiefly in Berlin. That is something for the English manufacturer to consider and remedy if he can. It was but a passing observation, but close inquiry might discover many such cases, and close inquiry is what the manufacturer is bound to make in these days.

There are, of course, difficulties in the way of giving preference to British trade. It has hitherto been supposed that under existing treaties Germany and Belgium can claim the advantage of any reduction made to Britain. Whether this be true or not, the anxiety of Canada that these treaties should not be renewed indicates the tendency of her policy.

On all sides the business outlook for Canada seems most encouraging. She has in actual fact a rapidly increasing trade with Britain. She has the hope of better trade relations with the United States. She is carefully cultivating minor but useful lines of exchange with the far East, Australasia, the West Indies, and South America. Her credit stands higher than that of any other great colony of the Empire. She has prudently ceased to be a great borrower, but for her three per cent. loans thrice the amount for which she asks has been offered. Her equipment for internal

development is excellent, and she has abundant room to receive the population which has been her greatest lack. The mass of the people are industrious, and her producing power is steadily increasing. Finally there is the fact which I have tried to prove—that her industries and the inclinations of her people alike point to close commercial and political consolidation with the nation of which she forms a part.

CHAPTER X

LABOUR, EDUCATION, AND POLITICAL TENDENCIES

FROM what has already been said it will be easily inferred that Canada is not a "paradise" for the working man, nor for anybody else who looks for an easy time or for great results with little effort. In other words, it is not a land of illusions. Any visitor, who is able to make comparisons with other countries will be struck as he travels through the rural districts, and especially through those of the older provinces, by the large proportion of comfortable-looking homes which he sees. If he has an opportunity to study them closely he will find that the comfort is very real and substantial, but he will also find that they are homes which have in almost all cases been won by steady, unflinching industry.

For success, an emigrant to the Dominion must therefore have something in him, whether on the prairie or woodland. "Is Canada a good enough country for a working man to go to?" one is often asked in great British centres of population. "Is the working man good enough to go to such a country as

Canada?" is often a more pertinent inquiry. Has he the necessary backbone, the capacity to adapt himself to new circumstances, such an appreciation of the benefits of a healthy life, physical and moral, that he is ready to sacrifice other things to obtain it? Are cheap music-halls, and cheap beer at every street corner, and a loaf ready baked for a wife untrained to domestic cares, more to him than fresh air, and plenty of space, and conditions of life which, if rough, are at any rate wholesome, and have in them the promise of health, independence, and improved social opportunities for his children?

Fifty years ago the British emigrant was almost always welcomed abroad, for he was usually a son of the soil, accustomed to a simple life, hard work, and long hours. But the emigrant who is the product of half a century of the artificial life of great towns, fresh from the atmosphere of trade unions, strikes, and social agitations, is looked at rather askance in Canada. The popular thought crystallizes itself into the advice which colonial agents give concerning the best classes to emigrate—farmers with a little capital, agricultural labourers, country girls to be trained for domestic service. For these there is always plenty of room and occupation.

The reports which occasionally cross the Atlantic of an unemployed class in Canada must never be looked at in the same light as the question of the unemployed in England, or even in Australia. They only mean that people have drifted thither who are unfitted for

Canadian life. If any man is out of work it is because he cannot or will not adapt himself to the abundant work there is to do. Artisans who can or will only do one kind of work run a good deal of risk in going to a country where versatility, a willingness and capacity to turn the hand to anything, is often the key to success. For men with plenty of backbone there are the best of opportunities in Canada; for men without it the country is not to be recommended.

"There is plenty of work and plenty to eat in this country," were the words in which an Aberdeen woman at Dunmore, after speaking of hard times in the old home, and hard work followed by prosperity in the new, summed up to me her view of Canada. The remark has a very general application. But it should be said that the hard work is of a kind which does not depress. The climate appears to lend itself singularly to the necessity for vigorous effort. Lady Cathcart's agent told me that he asked one of the crofter emigrants, whom he had found persistently shiftless and careless at home, how he managed without additional help to keep everything neat and tidy on his Manitoba farm. "One never seems to get tired in this air," was the reply. No doubt the sense of personal ownership and independent effort was a co-operating influence, but the difference between the moist, enervating atmosphere of the Hebrides and the electric air of the North-West would account for a good deal. The farm labourer of the Southern or Eastern English counties seems a heavy, awkward fellow when compared with

the wiry, active, and versatile backwoodsman of Eastern Canada. Climate doubtless has something to do with this also, for the step of the same labourer seems to quicken and his eye to brighten when he has been for a time on Canadian soil.

Curiously enough, although strenuous work is thus the distinctive note of Canadian life, one may yet travel for months through the country without hearing the subject of labour discontent specially referred to. Labour problems as they are known in England and Australia, for instance, do not fill any large place in people's thoughts. The reasons for this contrast are not hard to discover.

In the first place, the country is not crowded.

Canada's prime characteristic is the abundance of land which is easily accessible and which gives a fair and speedy return to individual labour with a comparatively slight expenditure of capital. There is no desert interior, as in Australia, to limit the range of settlement, and the people are free to spread over the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The prevailing occupations are agricultural, and as a rule each farmer owns the land he works. A man who is hurrying to get through with his fall ploughing before the frost comes on, or to make the most of the first fortnight's seeding in spring, or is trying to get the greatest possible amount of his own work squeezed into the short summer, or the autumn which presses so closely upon it, has not much leisure to think over the eight hours' question, or to spend time on labour agitations.

Not how many hours he ought to work, but how much work he can put through in a day, is the paramount question. This applies to the warmer seasons. In the lumber woods and on the farms in winter labour has a natural limitation in the shortness of the northern day. There is then much time for recreation or self-improvement. When a man is his own master and retains the profits of his industry, the labour problem takes on new aspects for him. Fortunately for Canada the majority of workers are their own masters. The natural conditions of the Dominion thus appear to relegate serious labour problems to a very remote future.

In the next place, the winter climate squeezes out for a part of the year the "tramp" and "swagger" class—the incorrigible loafer who takes no pains to provide a roof for himself, and who poses as unemployed while really unwilling to work. For nine months of the year, in most parts of Australia, a man of this type can sleep without discomfort under the open sky; there are nearly nine months in Canada when some provision for shelter is a necessity. The advantages of a mild climate are doubtless many, and one is more conscious of the luxury of easy living in Australia; a climate like that of Canada, severe for lengthened periods even while it is exhilarating, has merits which, though less obvious, are far-reaching in their influence on national character. It drives men back on home life and on work; it teaches foresight; it cures or kills the shiftless and improvident; history shows that in

the long run it has made strong races. It certainly saves Canada from a class which everywhere does harm to genuine industrial improvement. The Canadian winter exercises upon the tramp a silent but well-nigh irresistible persuasion to shift to a warmer latitude. It is a permanent barrier to the influx of weaker races. It is a fundamental political and social advantage which the Dominion enjoys over the United States, where the gradual and inevitable spread of a black zone across the South, and the increasing attraction of the warm Middle States for the races of Southern Europe, infinitely complicate the processes of national development, and qualify the undoubted industrial advantage of varied production.

In what has been said one speaks chiefly of the country, but even in the towns there has hitherto been little labour agitation. The inclination to drift from country to city life is noticeable in Canada as elsewhere, but unhealthy pressure towards the centres has not as yet become serious, and there is little sympathy with an unemployed class created by such a tendency. Till a man has tried what he can do on the land, he is not, even in the cities, thought to have much right to grumble or demand help from private charity or from the State.

Canada has a still further safeguard against labour troubles in the neighbourhood of the United States. If a man is not suited with the work and wages he gets in his own country, he can go to another close at hand. The extent to which the French Canadian

of Quebec thus migrates in order to find a market for his labour as a factory hand has been before referred to.

While the States in this way serve as a safety-valve for labour questions to the Dominion, it must be confessed that they have in past years drawn from Eastern Canada a great deal of material which it would gladly have retained. This so-called "exodus" has undoubtedly retarded the growth of the Dominion, and has been a fiercely discussed question in Canadian politics. One of the chief grounds on which protection, or, as it was called, the "national policy," won favour in Canada was the belief that the development of manufactures, by creating a variety of industry, would retain in the country many who were going away. This, to a certain extent, it has done. The opening up of the North West has also contributed to divert this flow of population westward, and will do so more in the future. Still, a limited migration to the States goes on, and is likely to do so. It is the natural penalty which Canada pays for being a northern country with those rigorous conditions of life which develop a strong type of character and physique. She is, in fact, repeating the experience of Scotland and New England. A climate which tends to produce a hardy race, a Puritan turn of mind which gives moral strenuousness, good schools, the leisure of winter for thought and study—all these tend to produce men likly to go abroad to win their way by their wits. The Anglo-Saxon element of the United

States, deluged as it is by a foreign population chiefly of the labouring class, and lacking many of the moral qualities which give the native American his superiority, gladly turns to Canada for a higher class of workers. Young men raised on Canadian farms and educated in Canadian schools and colleges are paid high wages, and everywhere rise to position of trust as railway and telegraph managers, as clerks, foremen, or organizers of industry in a hundred forms; the more highly trained, as teachers, professors, and journalists. Women obtain highly remunerative employment as matrons or nurses in hospitals and other institutions where a good physique and high intelligence are essential.

Only the opening of large fields of enterprise or the growth of great and wealthy centres, such as everywhere attract special ability, can prevent migration of this kind. This exodus of talent and energy is, therefore, likely to be continuous, and to extend to other countries as well as to the United States. It is fostered by the educational advantages everywhere within reach. On education almost every province of the Dominion spends sums exceedingly large when compared with the whole amount of revenue. The free school is everywhere, and the system extends in most of the provinces from the elementary grades up through the secondary schools to the door of the university. But the free school in Canada is not like the free school of England—practically a gift from the rich who make no use of it to the poor who do. The Canadian free

school is paid for by all classes and is used by all; is, in fact, a method of social co-operation for obtaining the best educational results with the least waste of force.

Excellent results are obtained and great public spirit is shown in the maintenance of good schools, considering that in fixing expenditure much is left to be decided by public sentiment in each province and each school district. Government does not, as in Australia, maintain schools; it gives assistance on a scale graduated to the amount of local effort, and exercises a general superintendence. On the whole, the plan is probably the most efficient for a common school system, and in Canada it works well. It must be said that the not uncommon mistake is made of spending money more liberally on machinery than upon men. But educational appliances are very good. In the country towns the schoolhouses are almost invariably among the finest public buildings, the class rooms are large, the sanitary arrangements of the best. In most of the cities the grading and organization of the schools are very complete, their danger perhaps lying in that excess of organization which tends to make teaching mechanical. In rural districts the village school forms no small part of the social system. In the Far West, as new areas are surveyed for settlement, provision is from the first made for education by setting aside certain sections of land in each township for school purposes. In newly opened districts, of course, the difficulty for the first generation of settlers lies in the

sparseness of population, but wherever a few children can be got together the means are provided for establishing a school. All towns of any size have good secondary schools. There is, therefore, no good reason why every Canadian child should not receive a fair education, or, if he has ability and perseverance, a really good one. The long winter lends itself to mental improvement. The lull in farm work leaves the children of the family comparatively free, and it is at this season that the country schools are full. The transition from the best country schools to the university is not difficult, and for poor students is often bridged over by a period of teaching in the common schools combined with study. The scale of college expense is more on the level of what obtains in Scottish than in English universities, though it has risen during the last few years.

University education is making rapid strides, partly by means of public funds, but much more by private benefactions. The readiness shown by wealth to support higher educational work is one of the most satisfactory features of Canadian life at the present time. When Sir William Dawson delivered his farewell address as Principal of M'Gill College not long since, he was able to say that the gifts of the citizens of Montreal to that University during the previous four years alone had amounted to no less than a million and a half dollars. There have been very recent proofs that this stream of munificence has not been exhausted. Mr. John Henry Molson continues from time to time

to add to the extremely generous support which has connected the name of his family with McGill from the earliest stages of its growth. The museum and library, presented before his death and endowed for permanent maintenance by the late Peter Redpath, form a noble monument to a large-hearted and patriotic liberality. Altogether Mr. Redpath's gifts must have amounted to more than half a million dollars. The claim that the engineering and physics departments of M'Gill are the most perfectly equipped in the world seems justified to any one who has inspected the fine buildings in which they are installed. Both are the gift of another generous citizen of Montreal—Mr. W. C. Macdonald, who has spent upon them nearly a million dollars. The medical school has grown into importance, and retains numbers of students who once flocked to Edinburgh and to the colleges of the United States. This school especially has received very large support from Sir Donald Smith. The same benefactor has provided for the higher education of women in connection with the University by a splendid and separate endowment, and he is still carefully maturing plans to make the work of this department as perfect as possible. The standard of teaching and examination is the same as that for men, though the provisions for instruction are distinct. Montreal may well be proud of the public spirit which prevails among its merchant princes. Altogether the university has now seventy-four professors and lecturers, with

well nigh a thousand students in general or special subjects.

Toronto University presents a different set of conditions. It depends chiefly for support upon the provincial revenues of Ontario, of whose altogether admirable school system it forms the crown. The fact that the college has this State aid seems, however, to have operated against large private benefactions. In comparing these two greatest universities in the Dominion it is interesting to note that the one which has depended chiefly upon private generosity within a single city has a more liberal endowment even than that which is supported by a wealthy province noted for its interest in education. Although the State has done so much for Toronto University, still some of its friends, and among them, I believe, members of the Faculty, hold the opinion that its position would be strengthened if it relied entirely upon voluntary support. It is not easy to decide upon the truth of this view, though the facts I have mentioned give it some justification. Indications are not wanting in other parts of Canada that while the common and intermediate schools can safely depend for adequate support upon the tax-paying public, the higher learning in new countries as well as old must look for assistance to the enlightened liberality of the wealthy few. Often religious sentiment furnishes the motive now as in earlier centuries. The Presbyterian, Church of England, Baptist, and Methodist bodies all support

colleges—some of them very well endowed—in Ontario, and their position is so strong that an attempt to affiliate them with the provincial university has only been partially successful.

Apart from State aid, the gifts made to a few of the leading colleges in the English provinces of the Dominion during the last ten years alone have amounted to at least $5,000,000. This estimate I had from Principal Grant, whose great and successful exertions in building up Queen's University at Kingston entitle him to speak with authority upon the subject. It seems to me to represent a very striking degree of liberality in a country which has only very lately known large accumulations of private wealth.

In French Canada higher education is mainly supported from ecclesiastical funds, is almost exclusively under clerical direction, and is largely employed in training men for the service of the Roman Catholic Church. Laval University at Quebec has a long and not undistinguished history. A number of classical colleges scattered throughout the province are, for the most part, affiliated with Laval.

In the Maritime provinces smaller colleges, some dependent on public and some on private and denominational support, do exceedingly good work, though the course of study is necessarily more limited.

These institutions grew up under the impulse of a very genuine ardour for higher education at a time when the provinces were isolated, when communication was difficult, and when, therefore, each small community

had to provide for its own wants. They have proved how much there is to be said for the work of the small college, with the better opportunity which it gives for attention to the development of the individual student, since they have, I think, turned out more men who have achieved distinction in public and intellectual life throughout the Dominion than the larger and more richly endowed universities. But with the increased facility of access to large centres the struggle for existence among these small colleges becomes more keen every day, and the necessity for some general reorganization of educational force among them is manifest. As things are, their ablest professors and students are apt to be drawn away to wider spheres, or, if not, they suffer from loyalty to local interests. There is abundance of excellent material and sufficient endowment of higher education in the Maritime provinces to maintain an effective university. Oxford and Cambridge prove that it is possible to combine the advantages of the college which takes charge of a limited number of students with the opportunities of a great university. The problem before educational statesmanship in the Maritime provinces, of harmonizing local and denominational interests and prejudices, presents difficulties, but should not be insoluble.

Throughout Canada there is an increasing tendency for students to take a post-graduate course of study in British or Continental Universities. It is a tendency which deserves encouragement, for the greatest obstacle to the attainment of the highest educational results in

Canada, as in other young countries, is the haste to rush into professional and business life without allowing time for thorough mental training. Besides, contact with great and ancient centres of learning is the best of all correctives for provincialism in thought and literary effort.

At Kingston the Dominion Government has established and maintains at considerable expense a college which gives a sound military training, and it is a noteworthy fact that in the few years since it was established nearly a hundred of its graduates have taken active service in the imperial army. It has been stated on the highest authority that in training and attainments they compare favourably with those turned out by the military colleges at home.

The Imperial Government assigns each year, without further examination, a small number of commissions to students who have distinguished themselves at the college. The link in military employment thus being gradually formed between the Dominion and the Empire seems of some significance and of mutual advantage. Canada secures the benefit of a large field for the training of its military students; the imperial army has a widened area from which to draw material.

I have dwelt at length upon the educational question, partly to show that intellectual has kept pace with material development, and partly to explain why it is that, beyond most of the other colonies of the Empire, the need of Canada is for hand-workers rather than head-workers. Of the latter the country produces within itself more than it can employ. The avenues to

professional success are everywhere crowded by home-born and, except for very special work, home-trained men. As I have shown, they go abroad in considerable numbers, for work they cannot find at home. Canada must, I think, reconcile itself to this exodus, which is the outcome of natural conditions. It is not without its compensation in extending influence. Still, there are many who maintain that the tendency of things in Canada is to give literary education beyond the needs of the country; that, while the professions are over-crowded, farms and the more practical avocations of life become neglected.

It is therefore interesting to note another exceedingly practical direction which educational effort is taking. As I have said, the country is and will continue to be mainly agricultural. It is beginning to be recognized that in an age of extreme competition the farmer, like others, can only succeed by adopting the best and most scientific methods. A beginning, at least, is now being made in bringing scientific training and the results of scientific research within his reach.

This work takes two different forms. At Guelph the Ontario Government has established an Agricultural College, with an efficient staff of professors. A large farm is attached to the college, so that provision is made for practical as well as theoretic instruction in farming during the three years' course for which the plan of study is arranged. The institution has been in operation for more than twenty years, and improvements have steadily been made, so that now the facilities

afforded to the students of becoming familiar with all kinds of farm work seem to a visitor very complete.

In addition to the ordinary work of field and garden, of laboratory and lecture room, a great variety of experiments in culture, the results of which are made public from time to time, are being carried on under the eyes of the students. Horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry of the leading breeds and varieties are reared, to illustrate the teaching of the college, and to give practice in methods of treatment. Class-rooms into which animals of all kinds can be freely introduced strike the observer as a novel part of college equipment, but among the most useful.

Particular attention is paid to the department of dairying, and the lecture-rooms are furnished with all the best appliances for testing milk, for separating cream, and for butter and cheese making. A special short winter course, for dairy teaching exclusively, has been established, and has met with much success. Its classes are open to women as well as to men.

The college has steadily grown in public favour, and has now no lack of students. All are expected to take a part in the farm work, and that this may be done the more cheerfully, and on equitable terms, arrangements are made by which students pay in part by their labour for their education. While the majority are Canadians, a good many have come in past years from the United Kingdom, and one asked with a good deal of interest how this system of combined field labour

and education worked in the case of young Englishmen. The report was not altogether what one would wish. The type of young man from the United Kingdom whom his parents are most anxious to get settled on a Canadian farm does not easily take up the *rôle* of a field labourer, but rather expects to find an agricultural college something like an English public school. The alternation of study and physical labour is naturally not so pleasant as that of study and play. To the Canadian farmer's son the former is something like the normal experience of life, and so for him the college puts no special strain on prejudices and habits. A course at Guelph should serve admirably as an introduction for a young Englishman to a farming life in Canada, but if he cannot face the labouring conditions there it is a pretty reliable proof that he is not fitted for the life to which he looks forward.

As the college can only receive a limited number of regular students, various means are taken to widen the sphere of its influence throughout the agricultural community. Farmers' excursions are arranged, to visit the college and inspect the practical work of the farm. Addresses on agricultural subjects are given, and the methods pursued and experiments carried on are explained to groups of the visitors by the heads of the various departments. No less than 9000 persons are reported as having thus visited the farm during the single month of June 1893. Again, at certain seasons of the year members of the college staff attend the meetings of farmers' institutes, to give lectures and

take part in the discussions. These institutes are voluntarily established by the farmers in most of the counties of Ontario, and have a marked influence in stimulating thought on farming questions and introducing improved methods of work. They are encouraged by a small grant from the provincial revenues. The college also sends out competent men with travelling dairies to go into every part of the province, and thus brings instruction on an industry which has become of the utmost importance in Ontario almost to the farmer's door. It is found that young men attend the college in order to qualify themselves for undertaking the management of cheese and butter factories, so that the diffusion of the best methods through the instrumentality of the college thus becomes very general. The result of such work is best shown in the wonderful strides made in the cheese production of Ontario, and the exceptional position which Canadian cheese has gained in English markets during the last ten years.

While Ontario has thus taken the lead in founding a college for farmers, the Dominion Government is carrying out on a larger scale another scheme with somewhat similar objects. For the last six years a large sum of money has been annually spent in organizing and maintaining a number of experimental farms at widely separated points across the continent. The Central Farm, from which the rest are directed, is in the vicinity of Ottawa. Of the other four, one is at Nappan, in Nova Scotia; another in Brandon, in

Manitoba; the third at Indian Head, in the Qu'Appelle district; and the fourth at Agassiz, in British Columbia. Climate and conditions extremely different, and representative of the characteristic areas of the country, are thus embraced in the operations of the farms.

The establishment of these experimental centres by Government may perhaps best be described as an endowment of agricultural research. Where a country has so much staked on the prosperity of its farming classes as has Canada, money could not be better spent, and it was satisfactory to be told that no sums were more cheerfully voted by Parliament than the grants required for this purpose.

No visitor to Ottawa should miss the opportunity of seeing the work that is going on at the central farm near that city, under the direction of Professor Saunders and his able corps of assistants. Experiments and investigations of the most varied kinds are being made in agriculture, horticulture, and arboriculture, under the direction of a specialist in each. A system of exchange has been established with foreign countries, and the adaptability to the Canadian climate of plants and seeds thus obtained, especially from northern latitudes, is carefully tested. Farmers are encouraged to correspond with the heads of the various departments, and submit to them their special difficulties. Any farmer is free to forward seeds to the Central Farm, where arrangements are made for testing and giving private reports upon their vitality. The chemical department receives samples of soils, natural

manures, &c., analyzes them, and gives advice about their treatment or use. In the botanical and entomological department plant diseases, noxious weeds, and injurious insects are carefully studied; communications are received concerning them; private advice is given or public bulletins are issued about the best methods of dealing with them.

Numerous experiments in cross fertilizing are constantly carried on, and new varieties of promise thus procured are widely distributed among farmers for further trial. In 1893 more than 20,000 samples of choice varieties of cereals in three-pound packages were distributed gratis to all applicants. Great quantities of tree seeds, with seedling forest trees and cuttings, have also been distributed, and especially in the North-West, with a view to encourage tree-growing on the prairies.

Most of the problems which confront the farmer in dealing with cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry are being studied, and the very full and accurate reports of the heads of departments on their various experiments in rearing and fattening stock, or combating disease, are scattered broadcast throughout the farming community. The Agriculturist of the the Central Farm, Mr. J. W. Robertson, is also Dairy Commissioner for the Dominion, and it is not too much to say that, by his energy and enthusiasm, he has begun to organize the dairying industry in the Maritime provinces on a new basis.

At the branch farms special attention is given to

those agricultural problems which most particularly affect the particular localities. On the two prairie stations the testing of varieties of trees suited for the prairies, and of cereals adapted to the short northern summer, receives special attention. In British Columbia hundreds of varieties of fruit are being tested, and the same department receives special care in Nova Scotia.

At all the experimental centres the country people of the neighbourhood are encouraged to visit the farms, and every facility is given them to observe the methods pursued and the progress of experiments. At Ottawa one found that large picnics to the farm, varied during the day by lectures from the specialists on the staff, had become a favourite farmers' outing.

Educational effort such as I have described cannot but assist the farmer in economizing force and making the most of his opportunities. Its value, however, lies not merely in the improvement of agriculture, but in the interest added to the farmer's life by giving it a scientific and intellectual side. To make farm life attractive should surely be one of the aims of an age perplexed by the problems which have arisen out of an overgrown city population. The steps being taken in Canada to attain this end seem practical and eminently noteworthy.

We may now turn to another line of inquiry.

The spirit and tendencies of political life in the greatest colony of the Empire must always be interesting to British people. That interest will necessarily

increase and become more practical as time goes on. Unobtrusively and almost unconsciously, through the sheer weight of her concern in national affairs, Canada's influence is making itself felt in imperial councils. Some time since, in private conversation, Lord Rosebery remarked that no change had more struck him in English political life during the last ten years than the new status which Canadians had obtained in this country, and the ready way in which Canadian advice was accepted in matters of great imperial importance by statesmen of all parties.

The change is only natural. The Dominion includes nearly forty per cent. of the land area of the Empire. Its ports, harbour defences, and coal supplies must always constitute considerable elements in determining the maritime strength of British people on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of America. It lies midway between Europe and Asia, and is in easy touch with both. It is in close international relation with the other half of the American continent. Its population of five milions is double that of the United States when they became independent, and greater than that of the England of Elizabeth's time. Whether its voice, now that of a united people, not of detached colonies, is heard in imperial questions by courtesy as at present, or by representation on defined principle as will probably come in time, should the unity of the Empire be maintained, such a State must necessarily have increasing weight in national and international discussions. It is manifestly of the utmost importance to the Empire

that public opinion in the Dominion, situated as it is, should be sober, reasonable, and conscious of its responsibilities; that political evolution should proceed on sound and healthy lines. So far, Canadian statesmanship has justified the greater attention paid to it on large questions of imperial policy. Results such as those achieved at the Halifax and Behring Sea arbitrations are the best proofs of this. Both were the outcome of a firm stand taken by Canada in regard to what she thought her rights; both were conducted mainly on Canadian advice; and in each case an impartial tribunal maintained the Canadian as against the American contention.

In many ways Canada holds a curious middle position in political thought between Great Britain and the United States. At first sight it might appear that the impact of so immense a community as the United States would entirely dominate Canadian lines of growth in politics and social life, and determine their tendencies. But this is very far from being the case. Canada has retained a very distinct individuality of its own. This is true of the greater and English-speaking part, as well as of that French Canada which might be expected to retain its peculiarities of thought and institution. The circumstances under which the leading provinces of Canada were founded, about the time of, or shortly after, the American Revolution, created a line of demarcation between the two countries which never has been, and probably never will be, entirely obliterated. The feelings with which the United

Empire Loyalists came to Canada between 1776 and 1783 were not such as favoured the adoption of the political and social ideals of the States from which they had been driven out. American action in the war of 1812 deepened the line of separation. While the United States cherish the recollection of Lexington and Bunker's Hill, Yorktown and Saratoga, as memorials of a struggle against what they thought was oppression, Canada finds the record of her heroic period in spots like Queenstown Heights, Lundy's Lane, Chateauguay, and other places where stern and successful resistance was made to high-handed American aggression. The circumstances in the one case are as much calculated to inspire patriotic feelings as in the other. Temporary difficulties, such as those which occurred at the time of the *Trent* affair, in the Fenian invasion of 1866, in the various boundary disputes, and the policy of commercial isolation which has prevailed of late years, have constantly tended to turn Canada in directions of its own, and given it the stamp of individuality. That stamp it will certainly retain.

But, while living its own life, the Dominion grows more cordial with its great neighbour as the latter learns to respect it.

At the point which they have now reached, the business of Canada and the United States is to live on friendly terms with each other, and there is little to prevent them from doing so, given common honesty of dealing and respect for each other's rights. The great

boundary questions have been settled, with the exception of that in Alaska, and here the necessary surveys are now being carried harmoniously forward. Other points of dispute have been cleared away. Mr. Goldwin Smith always assumes that Canada's presence as a part of the British Empire on the American continent is a standing irritation to the United States. Possibly it is to a baser element in the United States, but that is not a thing to which a free people should pander. It is much more likely that Canada, in the middle ground that it occupies, will prove to be the solvent which will unite in sympathy and on honourable terms the two great nations with which she is allied in race and language. Certainly it is in dealing with Canadian questions that these nations have made the greatest advance in the matter of national arbitration. In framing her system Canada took many hints from the United States. In the practical work of government the United States might well take many lessons from Canada. In maintaining a high respect for the law and the judicial office, in the management of native races, in organizing a non-political Civil Service, in the unification of marriage laws, to mention a few special points, the greater success of the smaller and younger federation has been marked, and is generally admitted. Doubtless much has yet to be done for the complete purification of public life in Canada, but in this too no impartial observer can doubt that the smaller State has the better record. The professional politician has no such large and accepted place as in the United

States, and the severest critic of Canadian politics has admitted that the people as a whole are sound. The strongest Government that the Dominion ever knew was swept from power merely on a suspicion that public trusts were being loosely dealt with. A strong belief in the public mind that the late Sir John Thompson was a man bent on ruling the country honestly, constituted one of the chief elements in his political strength. The same is true of Mr. Laurier, the Liberal leader.

On the other hand, by applying the federal principle of government on a great scale while keeping the system in harmony with British institutions, Canada must not be thought of as becoming Americanized, but as making a most important addition to the political experience of the Empire. There is no sufficient ground for doubting the success of the experiment. Friction there has been, but nothing that for a moment can be compared with what the United States had to deal with in the earlier years of the Union; nothing that has not yielded to judicious treatment. Friction there will doubtless still be, but the principle of union has now passed through the critical stage, and no single province would be allowed to violate the federal compact.

The success of federalism in the Dominion and the increased weight it has given to Canada cannot but have far-reaching results upon other parts of the Empire. It will forward the idea of unity in Australia and South Africa, and point the way to its successful

adoption. It may suggest the lines of further political development for the Empire. It is not unlikely to have considerable effect even upon political ideas in the United States. The Dominion is now illustrating on the American continent the admitted fact that the popular will under the British system works much more rapidly and effectively in a democracy which is not a republic than in one that is.

But while this first British application of the federal idea has been a distinct success, there have been many lessons to learn. There is ground for the opinion that since confederation Canada has been over-governed. The weak point of the system in this respect has manifestly been in the provincial Legislatures.

Confederation transferred to the Federal Parliament very extensive powers previously exercised by the provinces, and particularly powers which influence vital constitutional change. In this the Canadian system goes far beyond the example of the United States. While the importance of the local Legislatures was thus lessened, the machinery of government was left much as before, in deference to provincial feeling, which at first resisted any loss of prestige, even when it was artificial. This machinery has proved too complicated and expensive, especially in the smaller provinces.

Practical communities soon adapt themselves to new conditions, and all the English-speaking provinces except Nova Scotia, where some resistance is still offered, have abolished their Upper Chambers. "When the power to make grave constitutional amendment has been removed

from the sphere of legislation, and where the work to be done is mainly administrative, the check furnished by an Upper House is no longer needed. This is the explanation of the change which has taken place in the direction of a single Chamber for provincial Legislatures.

There would be the strongest objection to doing away with the Upper House in the Federal Parliament, though there the nominated Chamber has never been a strong force in politics—perhaps not so strong as the framers of the Constitution expected or intended. The tendency will be to strengthen rather than to abolish it.

It is likely that still further means will be found to reduce the complexity of the governing machinery in the smaller provinces. The most practicable reform seems to be the legislative union of the maritime provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. A regular system of government by Ministries based on party lines tends to become absurd when applied to such small constituencies, and ends by personal considerations and mere wire-pulling taking the place of anything that can be dignified by the name of policy.

Until some substitute has been found for government by party the best remedy for the pettiness of provincial politics seems to lie in widening the constituency as far as possible. There seems to be no good reason why a single Governor, Legislature and Civil Service should not serve for the Maritime provinces. Their population, when united, would not be equal to that of Ontario.

The interests which have grown up around the small capitals are now the chief obstacles to this useful change, which will probably come in time.

On some general questions of political tendency the Dominion presents striking contrasts to Australia. The centralization of government which prevails in most of the colonies of Australia, and which apparently tends to increase on lines of State interference, would not, in the present state of public opinion, meet with much sympathy in Canada. I doubt if in any country there is so complete a devolution of the powers and responsibilities of government upon the right shoulders, all the way up through the school district, the parish, the county or city municipality, and the province to the Federal Government, as in most of the English-speaking provinces of the Dominion. The rural municipality, conterminous with the county, has especially been organized with marked success. In this Ontario led the way; the example has been closely followed in New Brunswick and other provinces. It is almost universally found that the men selected represent the most solid and reliable portions of the farming and trading community; they need no guidance of an upper and specially educated class as in the English county council; they form simple but dignified consultative bodies; their county administration is usually marked by economy and care. The range of political training, from the district school committee to the Dominion Parliament, is thus rendered very complete. If Canadians are ever badly governed it is their own fault, certainly

not that of the completely free and representative system under which their local affairs are managed.

Public opinion in Canada, again, has gone entirely against the State control of railways which has found favour in Australia. Railway enterprise has been lavishly subsidized, the greater part of the federal and provincial debts having been incurred in this way; but the people have deliberately preferred to hand over the assisted railways to private control. There is a deep sense of the danger to constitutional government in unnecessarily burdening the legislative powers with complicated administration, with the control of vast expenditure, and with the exercise of extensive patronage. It is also believed that a community derives great advantages, through the increased self-reliance of the individual, from holding out the fullest inducements and giving the widest possible scope to private energy. The Intercolonial system, embracing about 1,100 miles of railway, is the only line now under public control. It was built and is maintained as a part of the confederation compact, but its State management is very widely regarded as a necessary evil. Whether Australian or Canadian tendencies in the particulars I have mentioned represent the more healthy and useful forms of political development would form an interesting study, and about it, no doubt, opinions would greatly differ. They illustrate the wide range of political experience furnished by a large Empire.

Statesmen who wish to strengthen the political tie between Canada and the motherland need not think

of doing so by other than very practical methods. When Lord Carrington returned from Australia, he suggested, if I am not mistaken, that such an end might there be attained by the extension to colonists of K.C.B., G.C.B., or some such titular distinctions, in addition to the ordinary K.C.M.G. of colonial knighthood. I doubt if he is right about Australia; I am quite sure that new links of connexion must take more practical forms so far as Canada is concerned. Some regard the conferring of a peerage and a baronetcy or two upon well-known Canadians as a move in the right direction, arguing that the highest honours of the Empire should be open to all British subjects. But there is absolutely no sympathy with the establishment of an hereditary nobility or aristocracy on Canadian soil. I think I am right in saying that the objection to it is marked. Curiously enough, this is not connected with any theoretical objection to a House of Lords at the centre of the Empire, where a Chamber, in part at least hereditary, is considered more congruous with the existing order of things. There is little popular dislike, however, to the conferring or acceptance of ordinary imperial honours, provided the subjects be worthy. On the whole the knighthoods given in Canada have, with a few exceptions, been conferred on those whom Canadians themselves would select for honour, and are practically ratifications of popular opinion. In many cases the honour has been declined.

There is one kind of life peerage, practical and useful, and carrying with it profound meaning, which could,

when the time is ripe, be bestowed with telling effect in Canada. A great Canadian lawyer raised to the peerage for life, and sitting on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, would form a real and practical bond, honourable to the colony and useful to the Empire. It need not be doubted that Canada will be prepared to furnish men of adequate calibre when they are needed. To say nothing of English Canada, more than one Chief Justice of Quebec, whose general legal ability and special knowledge of French law would be a distinct addition to the judicial resources of the House of Lords, would have filled the position with dignity and success. Such an appointment would profoundly affect French imagination. The name of Sir John Thompson was, before his lamented death, sometimes mentioned in connection with such an appointment, and it was one for which he was admirably qualified. It is quite possible that in other directions life peerages might be made representative of great Canadian interests, and so act as genuine bonds of union. Admission to the Privy Council, especially if connected with actual consultative functions, would probably prove a popular and practical link of closer connexion and a useful direction for political development. That the official representative from time to time in London of five millions of British people, who control the destinies of half a continent, should *ex officio* be of the Privy Council of the Empire seems like the dictate of political common-sense. The establishment of such a precedent would be accepted in the Dominion as a decisive recog-

nition of the growing importance attached to Canadian opinion.

One often hears regrets expressed in England that the growth of the Dominion has not been more rapid. It is true that Canada has grown slowly when compared with the sudden expansion of the Western States, or with Australia during the period of its greatest prosperity. Unthinking people attribute this exclusively to the more rigorous climate and the hard conditions of life, but the reasons are really various. The circumstances of Australian growth after the discovery of gold in 1851, and also when the colonies were spending large sums of borrowed money in assisted emigration, were essentially abnormal. During the period, again, when the American West filled up most rapidly, wheat was bringing an exceptionally high price. It was the farmer's golden age. Now he has fallen on his age of iron. Never in the memory of man has wheat been so low as since the opening of the wheat areas of the North-West. In European countries, moreover, the class from which the best emigrants were chiefly drawn has now been much reduced in numbers through the depression of agriculture, the introduction of farming machinery, and the transfer of the people to an artisan life in towns. These and many other like considerations must be kept in mind.

But it is a very superficial view to regard the slow growth of the Dominion as a disadvantage to the country. There are many compensations, and the gain has probably been greater than the loss. Law and

social order have always maintained their supremacy. The native Canadian and the British elements have never been swamped by an alien population untrained to citizenship. There has been no unnatural inflation, to be followed by a corresponding depression, no revolt of labour, no excessive concentration of population, with the evils which follow in its train.

The best friends of Canada are perhaps those who are far-sighted enough to prefer that her growth should still not be too rapid for her powers of healthy assimilation. It is impossible to sympathize with the feverish haste shown in the Western States to reproduce within a single generation in a new country the social conditions of crowded Europe, to reckon national progress by numbers rather than by quality and soundness of organization. It may fairly be claimed for Canada that in her somewhat slow development political training and social organization have kept pace with material growth.

All these are fitting her to take a place of increasing influence in the Empire to which she belongs. That it is her highest interest and the prevailing wish of her people to maintain connexion with that Empire is one of the conclusions to which my study of the country has led me. That she cannot be separated from the Empire without results incalculably hazardous to the maintenance of the national position of British people is another.

INDEX

INDEX

ABERDEEN, Lord, estate in British Columbia, 169
Acadians, 137, 147, 148
Agassiz, experimental farm at, 228
Agriculture, 19–25, *et seq.*
Agricultural College, 224–7
Alaska, 234
Alberta, 30, 31, 34
Alkali land, 12
Annexation, objection to, 185; sometimes discussed, 186; any feeling in favour of, now gone, 202, 203
Apples, export of, from Ontario, 95; from Nova Scotia, 113; to Britain and United States, 189; bad packing of, 95, 192
Athabasca River, 5, 176, 182
Australia, British Columbian timber used in, 166; trade with, 197, 207; Canadian tendencies contrasted with those of, 238, 239; growth of, 242

BANFF, 7
Barley, markets for, 194, 195
Barren grounds, 177
Beaver, 178, 179
Bedford Basin, 102
Behring Sea, 81; arbitration, 232
Bermuda, cable connection with Halifax, 102
Boundary, southern of Canada, 3; Alaska, 234
Bourinot, Dr., 107
Brandon, 14; railway rates at, 56; experimental farm at, 227
Brassey, Lord, colonisation estate, 15; decides to encourage small farms, 17; experience in promoting colonisation, 35
British Columbia, 6, 157–172; not agricultural, 161, 162; mineral wealth, 163–5; fisheries of, 162, 5; timber of, 166–167; coal of, 78–84; fruit and hops, 168
Brown, George, 106
Buffalo, 179
Butter, 97, 192

CALGARY, 26, 30, 33, 40
Canadian Pacific Railway, 46–72; mileage of, 46; advantage over other trans-continental lines, 47; steamship connections of, 48, 66–7; bridges of, 49; encourages many enterprises, 49, 50; early difficulties of, 53; monopoly of transportation in North-West, 55–61; position of in Eastern Canada, 61–4; proposal to hand over Intercolonial Railway to, 64–68; use of as naval and military route, 69–71
Canal system, 120; expenditure upon, 121; freight carried by, 121; Sault Ste. Marie, 121, 122
Cape Breton, 74–6
Carman, Bliss, 108
Caron, Sir Adolphe, 142

Cartier, Sir George, 134
Cattle trade, 30, 31, 188
Chateauguay, 233
Cheese, largest exports from Ontario and Quebec, 97, 191; sent to United Kingdom, 188, 190, 191
Chignecto Ship Railway, 123
China, 47,48
Chinese in Canada, 170
Climate, 3; compensations for cold, 24, 25, 211, 212; squeezes out inefficient, and keeps out weak races, 213, 214
Coal, relation of to commerce and imperial defence, 73–77,87, 88; in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 74–78; in British Columbia, 78–84; on the prairies, 85–87; in New Brunswick, 78; anthracite near Banff, 82–3; smokeless, at Canmore, 83; market for in United States, 194
Cochrane ranch, 30
Coke, 83, 84 (note)
Colonist cars, 50
Crow's Nest Pass, 48
Cunard, Samuel, 108

Dakota, 41
Dawson, Dr. G. M., 5, 86, 107, 176
Dawson, Sir Wm., 107, 218

Edmonton, 28, 29, 40, 87
Education, 216–226
Eggs, export of, to United States and United Kingdom, 195
Elevators, 14; waste in, 22
Emigration, Icelandic, 9; Scottish, 13; from United States, 40; young Englishmen of better classes not always suited for, 36, 226; kind of required in North-West, 34; in Canada generally, 210
Esquimalt, 80, 169
Estevan, 13, 86
Exodus to United States, 129, 215, 216, 224
Experimental farms, 227–23

Fall ploughing, necessity for, 20; compared with summer fallowing, 19
Farms, on a large scale, 16, 17; small preferable, 17; best acreage for, 18, 19; from forest land, 115, 116; partly improved, 117, 119
Fish, where exported to, 195
Fisheries, of Eastern Canada, 109–110; of British Columbia, 165
Fleming, Sandford, 53
Fort William, 62
Foster, Hon. George, E., 107
Frechette, Louis, Article in *Forum*, 129
Fredericton, 117
French, in Quebec, 128; in Manitoba and North-West, 139; in Ontario, 139; Acadian, 147; language, 139–143
Frost, 12, 20, 24
Fruit growing, 93–96, 113
Fundy, Bay of, 4, 112
Fur, carriage of, 6; country, 173–183; permanence and quality of supply, 178

Galt, Sir Alexander, 106
Gold, 109, 163
Grand Trunk Railway, 49 (note), 63
Grant, Rev. Principal, 57, 107
Guelph Agricultural College, 224

Habitant, 129, 131, 138, 140; immobility of, 144, 145; good fisherman and lumberman, but bad farmer, 149–150
Hail and hail insurance, 12
Haliburton, Judge, 109
Halifax, 74, 101, 102
Hamilton, 92, 100

Harrison, President, refers to Canadian Pacific Railway, 47; to Ship Canal, 62; trade animosity of, 196
Horses, ranch, 31; exports to Britain, 189
Howe, Joseph, 109
Hudson's Bay, 4, 174; route to Europe, 182–183
Hudson's Bay Company, 178, 179, 180–183

Iceland, emigrants from, to North-West, 9
Icelanders, 35, 39
Imperial titles in Canada, 240
Indian Head, experimental farm at, 228
Institutes, farmers', 226, 227
Intercolonial Railway, 64, 65–67, 68, 239
Irrigation, 27, 49
Isothermal lines, 5, 29

Jewish colonies, 35
Judicial Committee of Privy Council, 241

Ketchum, H. G. C., 124
Kingston, 92, 100, 117
Kootenay, 164, 193

Labour, conditions of, 210; does not depress, 211; problems not prominent, 212–215
Labrador, 177, 182
Lachine Bridge over St. Lawrence, 49 (note)
Latitude, comparative, of points in Canada, 3
Laurier, Hon. Wilfrid, 135, 142, 235
Lethbridge, coal, 85–86, 194, 196
London, 92, 100
Louisburg, 74, 76, 103
Loyalists, United Empire, Toronto founded by, 99, 233
Lundy's Lane, 233

Macdonald, Sir John, 101, 106
Macdonald, Mr. W. C., gifts to McGill College, 219
Mackenzie, Alexander, 106
Mackenzie River, 5, 176, 182
Manitoba, comparative latitude of, 3, 9, 24
Manufactures, in Ontario, 97, 98; of iron, 110; of cotton and woollen, 205, 206
Maritime Provinces, 101; industrial position of, 103, 104; influence in Dominion affairs of, 106; agricultural prospects, 111, 112; climate of, 114; improved farms in the, 118, 119; legislative union of, 237
McCarthy, Mr. d'Alton, 204
McGill College, 218, 219
McKinley tariff, 195–197
Mercier, Mr. 135, 148
Military College, 223
Mixed farming, arguments for, 21; objection of North-Western farmer to, 23
Molson, Mr. J. H., gifts to McGill College, 218
Montreal, 151–153; public spirit of its wealthy men, 219
Mormon enterprise in Southern Alberta, 42
Muskoka, 99
Musk Ox, 177

Nanaimo, 79, 80, 81
Nappan, experimental farm at, 227
Navigation, inland, 4, 5; limitation to, 6
Nelson River, 5
New Brunswick, marsh and intervale lands of, 112, 113; coal in, 78; business conditions of, 105, 106; forest land of, 115, 116
Newcomb, Professor Simon, 108
New Glasgow, 110
Niagara Peninsula, 93–96
Nickel, 193

North-West, relation to rest of Canada, 5 ; general consideration of, 9–45
Nova Scotia, coal in, 74–78 ; as part of Maritime Provinces, 101–119 ; fruit growing in, 113; iron ores of, 110 ; best forest lands taken up, 115

O'Brien, Archbishop, 108
Ontario, 90–101 ; forest land of, 116 ; agricultural college of, 224–226
Ottawa, 100, 101

Pacific Coast, 6 ; length of coast line, 7
Pacific Ocean, Canadian steamship lines on, 172
Peace River, 5, 29
Perley, Senator, opinion on North-Western farming, 19
Petersen, P. A., C.E., 49 (note)
Petroleum, in Ontario, 91 ; in Northern Canada, 176
Pork, wheat fed, 21, 22 ; surplus sent to United Kingdom, 188
Poultry, trade with the United Kingdom, 190
Prairies, impression of vastness from, 11 ; variety of land on, 12 ; cultivation of, 15 ; undulating and partly wooded, 26
Premium system, 38, 39
Prince Albert, 28
Prince Edward Island, 113
Privy Council, 24, 241
Protection, 199–204

Qu'Appelle, 34
Quebec, 127–156 ; population and representation of, in parliament, 128 ; small emigration to, from France, 129 ; exodus from, 129 ; repatriation and settlement, 149
Quebec, city of, 153–155
Queenstown Heights, 233

Ranching, 30, 31, 44
Rand, Dr. T. H., 107
Redpath, Mr. Peter, gifts to McGill College, 219
Red River, 4
Regina, 28, 33
Roberts, Charles, 108
Robertson, Mr. J. W., Dairy Commissioner for Dominion, 229
Rosebery, Lord, 231
Rupert, Prince, first Governor of Hudson's Bay Company, 180

San Francisco obtains coal from British sources, 80, 81, 196
Saunders, Prof., 228
Saskatchewan, River, farming lands along the, 28, 41, 42
Sault Ste. Marie, 61, 121
Scenery, magnificence of Canadian, 7
Schultz, Governor, opinion on mixed farming, 24
Schurman, Dr., 107
Security of life and property in North-West, 33
Sherbrooke, 149
Silver in British Columbia, 164, 165, 193
Smith, Mr. Goldwin, 126, 185, 234
Smith, Sir Donald, Governor of Hudson's Bay Company, 181 ; gifts to McGill College, 219
St. Albert, 29
St. John, 102; harbour of, and its defence, 103 ; decay of shipping, 104 ; great fire at, 104
Stephenson, Robert, 49 (note)
Straw, burning of, 14, 22
Sudbury, nickel mines at, 193
Sydney, coal mines at, 76

Taché, Archbishop, 135
Taché, Sir Etienne, 134
Tariff, 199–202 ; effect of McKinley, 197

Thompson, Mr. S. R., 107
Thompson, Sir John, 107, 235, 241
Tilley, Sir Leonard, 106
Timber of British Columbia, 166, 167; of Northern Canada, 175; trade, 189
Toronto, 98; British sentiment of, 99; journalistic and literary centre of Dominion, 98; university of, 220
Trade, relations and policy, 183–208; cattle, 188; apple, 189; timber, 189; poultry, 190; with Great Britain and United States, 197; greater freedom of, 202
Trappists at Oka, 151
Tupper, Sir Charles, 106
Tupper, Sir Hibbert, 107

United Empire Loyalists, 99, 100
United States, trade relations with, 186; safety valve for labour troubles, 214, 215; migration to, 129, 130, 215, 216
Universities: McGill, 218, 219; Toronto, 220; Queen's, 221; gifts to, 221; Laval, 221; single university needed in Maritime Provinces, 222

Vancouver, comparative latitude of, 3; large timber of, 167; growth and position of, 171, 172
Vancouver Island, coal of, 79
Van Horne, Sir Wm., 47, 51, 55, 198
Victoria, 169, 170
Victoria Bridge, 49 (note)
Villiers, Sir Henry de, 143
Voyageurs, 180

Wellington mines, 79
West India, telegraphic connection with, 102; trade with, 197
Whalebacks, 49
Wheat, output of, 14; increase in production of, 17, 18; possibility of increase, 18; preparation of land for, 15; frosted and frozen, 21; cost of carrying, 43, 57; rivalry between Canadian and British farmer in production of, 43–44; Canadian market for surplus, 188; low price of, 242
White, Mr. Solomon, 185
Wine, production in Niagara peninsula, 94, 95
Winnipeg, 32
Woodstock (Ontario), 92, 100, 117, 206

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